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Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-132
Tuesday
13 July 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

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Baltic Leaders Appeal to G-7 on Russian Troop Withdrawal

WS0907113493 Tallinn BNS in English 0908 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Vilnius, July 08 [as received], BNS—Leaders of the three Baltic states July 7 sent a letter to the leaders of the G-7 expressing their hope that the problem of the Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltics will be properly presented at the Tokyo summit.

Lithuanian and Estonian presidents Algirdas Brazauskas and Lennart Meri, and Chairman of the Latvian parliament Anatolijs Gorbunovs asked the Western leaders to support "an immediate, timely and complete troops withdrawal."

The Baltic leaders say there were no possibilities so far to carry out the final document of the Helsinki conference, signed July 9, 1992, which urges "all the sides concerned to conclude bilateral agreements on an immediate, timely and complete troop withdrawal."

Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian leaders say the obligation was not observed because of "the refusal of the Russian government to present draft agreements, including the schedules." The letter notes that "the actual testing of Russia's political and democratic will is the preparedness to fulfill its international obligations."

The address is a political document which might help Latvia and Estonia solve the withdrawal problem, Lithuanian Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius said at a press conference Thursday [8 July].

The minister, however, does not think that the letter will induce Russia to any sanctions against Lithuania. "Any delay of the troop withdrawal from Lithuania would cost much to Russia itself."

Butkevicius said he is certain that the Russian troops will be pulled out regardless of whether Russia signs a general political agreement.

The minister added that a possibility to sign such a document "always remains."

UNGA Head on Withdrawal

WS0907113693 Tallinn BNS in English 0908 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Riga, July 08 [as received], BNS—U.N. General Assembly President Stoyan Ganev reaffirmed his organization's intent to devote more attention to the Russian Army's withdrawal from the Baltic states.

Russia is not complying with the U.N.-adopted resolution on the unconditional withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, Ganev said in a briefing July 8. Therefore, he said, the United Nations is committed to enforcing the resolution by taking additional measures.

As BNS reported earlier, a special U.N. fact-finding mission is scheduled arrive in the Baltics in September to check the Russian troops' withdrawal.

The arrival and the work of the fact-finding mission might be a political gesture that spurs the troops' withdrawal, said Ganev.

Ganev visited all three Baltic nations and left Latvia July 8.

CSCE Demands 'Full' Withdrawal

WS1207113193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0713 GMT 12 Jul 93

[From 12 July HOMMIKULEHT, p 4; 10 July PUHAPAEVALEHT, p 6]

[Text] Monday, July 12—The CSCE Parliamentary Assembly annual meeting demanded again the rapid, full and orderly withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Baltic states. The Finnish delegation managed to avoid "a major argument over the Estonian issue" by suggesting a compromise, Estonian delegation member Tnu Krda said. He added that the CSCE has no claims to Estonia after the introduction of amendments to the law on aliens, but warned against causing more situations where "Europe might require making amendments to legislation or make them itself".

At Russia's request, an article was included in the final declaration, suggesting the Estonian authorities to consider the European standards and CSCE and CE experts' recommendations. A paragraph calling for the Russian and Estonian governments to restore the dialogue and hold negotiations over troop withdrawal, was also added. Another article, proposed by the U.S., expressed concern with the continued Russian military presence in the Baltic states, stressing that it violated their sovereignty.

Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas stressed in a statement dedicated to the summit meeting anniversary, that no progress has been made during the past year in the troop withdrawal issue. The situation gives reason for "deep disapproval", she said. Practical and economic difficulties are no ground for the failure to comply with the obligations taken in the CSCE declaration, the statement read.

Baltic Ambassadors View Withdrawal

WS1207112993 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0713 GMT 12 Jul 93

[From 10, 12 July PUHAPAEVALEHT, PAEVALEHT, p 6,3]

[Text] Monday, July 12— The Baltic states ambassadors in Moscow, Sotckholm, Copenhagen and Brussels have held a number of news conferences in the last days in order to explain the situation in Estonia.

Clyde Kull, Estonian Ambassador to Belgium and the NATO, held a news conference on Friday [9 July], criticizing the Russian use of the conception of peace keeping forces in order to justify their military presence in the Baltic states. The Baltic representatives expressed their fear that the "protection of Russian citizens" may be used as a pretext for a Russian military intervention. The NACC does not consider the Russian conception of peacekeeping as corresponding to internationally accepted standards, the head of the NATO defence planning coordination department told the PAEVALEHT. The NATO is following the events on the Estonian-Russian borders and its higher officials are informed of the Russian troop concentration near the border, Clyde Kull added.

Ambassador Kull, Latvian Honourary Consul Niels Dahlmann and Lihuanian Embassy Advisor Vygaudas Ushapkas held a news conference dedicated to the anniversary of the CSCE summit in Helsinki. They stressed that the NATO should help to accelerate the Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic states. The "rapid and orderly withdrawal," mentioned in the summit meeting final document, had not been executed by Russia, they pointed out. The BBC representatives accused Estonia of providing the Russian reactionaries with arguments against President Yeltsin, Kull said. He added that he was concerned with the interpretation of amendments to the law on aliens by a number of foreign correspondents. "They have an idea that the Estonian parliament failed to consider the CE [Council of Europe] and CSCE recommendations and made only cosmetic improvements," Kull commented.

Turkic Culture Meeting Opens in Almaty

TA1007113793 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 10 Jul 93

[By Senay Bayburt from Almaty]

[Text] The opening speech at the Turkish Speaking Countries' Culture Minister's Council meeting was delivered by Kazakh Culture Minister Yerkegeliy Rakhmadiyev. Yerkegeliy said that the aim of this meeting was to research, develop and promote the Turkic people's very colorful 1,000-year-old culture and added that this has to be accomplished by taking firm steps, although not in haste.

Turkish Culture Minister Fikri Saglar said that the aim of the meeting is not to impose one or more cultures on other member countries but to further cultural exchange. Saglar said that both the political differences between the countries and the internal or external issues should not affect [word indistinct] cooperation. Saglar submitted a proposal for the preparation of a Turkic world cultural inventory and added that the failure to achieve language and alphabet unity is creating obstacles with regard to cooperation.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan participate as full members and Bashkiria, Tatarstan, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as observers in the meeting.

It is expected that the necessary agreements will be signed for the development of the Turkic cultural heritage.

'Observer' Nations Support Angolan Government

LD0907110893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1747 GMT 8 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 8 July—Angola's lawful government is entitled to self-defense and the acquisition of weapons for this purpose. This is stated in a joint statement by the participants in today's meeting in Moscow of the "Trio" of representatives of Russia, the United States, and Portugal, the official observers of the settlement in Angola.

The document emphasizes that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] formations in violation of UN resolutions and the provisions of agreements signed earlier are continuing their attacks and seizure of territories controlled by the country's legal government. The meeting's participants called on UNITA's leadership to cease their military actions and to abandon the practice of intimidating UN personnel.

The representatives of Russia, the United States, and Portugal considered a number of additional measures directed at achieving a peace settlement in Angola, which will be presented at a coming session of the UN Security Council. The measures envisage in particular the establishment of an embargo on arms deliveries to UNITA's formations, the restriction of trips abroad by its representatives connected with illegal activities, the release of hostages, and unhampered deliveries of humanitarian assistance to the country.

At a press conference after the meeting, Grigoriy Karasin, head of the Russian delegation and chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry's African countries directorate, noted that "a military solution to the Angolan problem does not exist." He said that the international community needs to take a hardline stance towards UNITA.

Replying to a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent, the diplomat stated that the personnel of Russian establishments in Angola had been reduced since September last year. Moscow is taking every possible measure to ensure the safety of Russian citizens. Grigoriy Karasin said at the same time that in view of the relatively calm situation in the country's capital, the family members of some Russian staff-workers had been permitted to return to Luanda.

Economic Union With Russia, Ukraine, Belarus Viewed

WS1207084193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] A treaty on the acceleration of economic integration among Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus will be developed by vice prime ministers by 1 September 1993. The treaty is likely to be open to other countries, says the statement, which was signed by Prime Ministers Viktor Chernomyrdin, Leonid Kuchma, and Vyacheslav Kebich. The statement addresses urgent measures to deepen the economic integration and the intention of the three countries to participate in the development of the treaty on the creation of the CIS economic union. The heads of the three governments have spoken for the lifting of tariff and non tariff restrictions in trade and economic relations, and for the creation of a customs union and a single customs territory. In their opinion, it is necessary to strive for the integration of the production, foreign trade, credit, monetary, and social policies. The heads of governments have addressed the lawmakers of their countries and asked the deputies to consolidate efforts in the sphere of foreign policy and to work to achieve a maximum integration of their legislations. They have spoken for the creation of a single economic space, which supposes the free movement of goods, capital, and services.

This document does not presuppose the breakup of the CIS and should not introduce separatism into the CIS. This thought was unambiguously and consistently stressed by the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian prime ministers. We are not separatists within the CIS framework, Vyacheslav Kebich said. He stressed that the treaty is open to the other countries.

Kebich Comments

LD1207181293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1726 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Vladimir Glod for TASS]

[Text] Minsk July 12 TASS—At today's press conference, Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich promised to return to the evaluation of the joint statement by the prime ministers of Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine not earlier than at the beginning of the next year. He explained his stance as follows: "The necessary documents and these are nearly 20 various treaties and agreements need to be prepared before September 1. They will begin working only in autumn. The first fruits of the interaction of the three neighbouring states will be able to be seen already early next year."

Kebich said: "We were going toward this treaty for a long time and with difficulties." Explaining this, Kebich clarified that no one within the CIS framework wanted to make any concessions, everyone thought only about his own interests frequently ignoring the common ones. It became clear that going at such a pace an economic union within the CIS framework will not be set up soon. Hence the union of the three republics.

Meanwhile, the treaty remains open for signature but only by those who agree to "accept the rules of the game without any reservations." It seems the union will be extended soon. According to Kebich, the Armenian head of government, after acquainting himself with the document, expressed the desire to join the three states during a telephone talk today.

Clarifying seperate provisions of the document, Kebich observed that the creation of a single monetary system does not at all mean that all three states will be in the rouble zone. It is not prohibited to have one's own currency. But in this case, its official rate of exchange to the rouble and other currencies is set.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Jul

LD1307054493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0521 GMT 13 Jul 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight the results of the constitutional convention's plenary session held in the capital of Russia on Monday. Stating that the adoption of a draft new constitution of Russia became the chief result of the session, newspapers comment on the event with emphasis on the speech made at the session by President Boris Yeltsin.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA points out in particular that the president's speech was largely of conclusive nature. His opinion is that it is precisely this kind of constitution that "multiethnic Russia needs". But the president's optimism will be realistic only when the agreed upon draft constitution is endorsed by the subjects of the Federation, the newspaper emphasises.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA comments on the same aspect, stating that "Boris Yeltsin visualises the major complexity in the coordination of the constitutional status of republics and regions by the local governing councils at the present stage of the constitution reform".

PRAVDA carries a brief interview with Boris Yeltsin who expressed satisfaction with results of the convention's plenary session, emphasising that he orients himself "towards accord among all political forces, not confrontation." His opinion is that "there is headway towards accord."

The first results of the work on a draft new constitution of the Russian Federation have been evaluated differently in interviews, published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, by Russian Vice-Premier Alexander Rutskoy, parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and by Sergey Baburin, coordinator of the Rossiya parliamentary faction.

Their opinion is that the work on a draft new fundamental law of the country was conducted hastily and unprofessionally. As for "the emergence of the Ural, Vologda and other republics on the map of Russia", republics which began to "spring up" as the constitutional convention proceeded, this in the opinion of the three above-mentioned politicians, virtually means a break-up of Russia and this process, they believe, is being inspired by the initiators of the convocation of the constitutional convention.

The Russian parliament decision, taken on Friday, on the Russian federal status for the city of Sevastopol is another central topic being commented in the press.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) points out in this connection that the Russian parliament's decision is conducive to a sharp complication of relations between Russia and Ukraine and to confrontation between them. "Such a turn of events," the newspaper writes, "may not suit either the Ukrainian or Russian peoples. This means that they must again return to a dialogue in which the parliament of the Crimea should also join, while the future of the Black Sea Fleet should be discussed with due regard for the overall security of each of the subjects". KRASNAYA ZVEZDA believes that "possibilities for keeping the unity of the Black Sea Fleet have not yet been exhausted either".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA stresses that "the Russian parliament's decision to bring Sevastopol back to the jurisdiction of Russia creates a new political situation both in Kiev and in Moscow".

Pointing out that "the Russian Foreign Ministry and the presidential team stand on the positions on another state, by condemning the decision of their own parliamentarians, the newspaper notes an interesting precedent: President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine "gets a strong card on the eve of a referendum in order in show himself to be a masterful politician while the Russian parliament, becoming aware of resistance to its decision, may denounce the November 19, 1990, treaty with Ukraine and consequences of such a step would be utterly unpredictable."

In an interview with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich of Belarus, touching upon his meeting with the premiers of Russia and Ukraine, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Leonid Kuchma, emphasises that the main task for all the three republics now is to look for joint ways to counteract "a common and ruinous-to-everyone economic catastrophe", and to avoid direct or indirect confrontation.

Further Comment on Outcome of G-7 Tokyo Summit

Yeltsin-Clinton Talks 'Absurd'

LD1007041393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Early this morning Russian President Boris Yeltsin departed by air from Tokyo where he had met with the leaders of the leading industrial powers. The culminating talks with U.S. President Bill Clinton had taken place earlier. Our special correspondent Sergey Shevykin reports from the Japanese capital.

[Shevykin] Both the meeting of the two presidents on the territory of the U.S. Embassy and the subsequent news conference took place in a very friendly atmosphere. If one judges from the statements by Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton, the over one hour long conversation was of an absurd nature. A wide range of problems have been examined, ranging from issues related to the regional policies of the two countries in different areas of the world to the prospects for developing bilateral relations. Both presidents noted that they have fulfilled their internal political tasks, opening up the path for implementing the Vancouver accords.

Clinton has managed to convince the U.S. Congress of the need to approve a package of measures to render assistance to the reforms in Russia, and Boris Yeltsin enlisted support for this policy during the April referendum. In the opinion of observers, one should now expect more specific joint bilateral projects to be worked out.

Evidently, yet another even more thorough meeting is needed for that. In an interview with the Russian radio and television company at the end of the talks, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev could not bring himself to mention the location and dates when the meeting will be held, although he stressed that according to protocol, it is now Bill Clinton's turn to visit our country.

Clinton Reputation 'Substantially Enhanced'

PM1207174793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Tokyo Brings Clinton Laurels"]

[Text] The sky over President Clinton will be clear for another two days—and not only in accordance with weather forecasters' predictions. He left Tokyo with the fresh laurels of a world leader, and even the numerous minor gaffes, over which the caustic Washington press chuckles, will not spoil his long-awaited vacation in the Hawaiian Islands.

Whatever the carping commentators there made of it, the week in Tokyo has substantially enhanced the U.S. President's reputation. He won from his European colleagues the fundamental agreement to take substantial steps toward trade freedom. The lowering or complete removal of restrictive tariffs on a number of goods, including automobiles, medicines, food, and electrical goods, is an encouragement to U.S. industry. He held fruitful bilateral talks with the summit hosts, after which the idea of Japan's voluntarily opening its market a bit somehow began to look like a reality. His vigorous support for the idea of aiding democratic Russia did not find a single opponent in Tokyo.

However, skeptics will say that the Tokyo laurels could turn into a meager meal because there are still some things missing from the shopping basket and only the hazy future will tell whether they will turn up.

However, this future could be a thoroughly stormy one. Not for nothing did a multitude of complaints appear on the eve of the summit, including from presidents' and premiers' closest colleagues, that three days of meetings is too exhausting a period, that specific documents are useless without a verification and implementation mechanism, and that in the absence of a main enemy it would be good to return to the initial idea of a club of Western world leaders—that is, places where opinions and doubts are willingly given to each other but the elaboration of specific decisions is left until they get home.

The contours of a debilitating trade war looked quite clear back on the eve of the Tokyo meeting. U.S. businessmen, who have been bruised more than once by the high Japanese barriers, demanded a tough ultimatum from their president—either or freedom in both markets, or a war of attrition.

Clinton managed to imbue his ultimatum with a special elegance. Going "over the head" of the Japanese premier to his nation, the American proclaimed the values of a special Pacific partnership. By violating etiquette he was able to inform the the distrustful country's public opinion that open markets serve the common good and that America considers Japan its equal partner.

The Russian president enjoys the White House incumbent's special personal sympathies. In an interview Clinton gave back in Japan to an NBC television correspondent the American talked of Yeltsin not only with respect but also with the light, good-natured irony which is permitted only among friends. Judging by the responses of senior staffers in Clinton's team, he is sure that a package of $3 billion is the maximum that Russia could receive in a situation whereby inflation has by no means been curbed in this country and whereby privatization is proceeding fitfully, while the question of land ownership has virtually been forgotten by Russian politicians.

His great readiness for cooperation, which many people in his country have interpreted and continue to interpret as a special form of indecisiveness, did Clinton a good turn in South Korea too. Although the American broke some ceremonial dogmas, to which the Koreans are particularly sensitive, he left a good impression behind him. When saying farewell he did, of course, again call the Korean president's wife Mrs. Kim (whereas he should have called her Mrs. Son, otherwise the impression is roughly the same as if he had addressed Yeltsin's wife as "Dear Borisa Nikolayevna"), but even this did not, according to the Korean president himself, upset the atmosphere of "warmth and friendship." Especially as the Koreans largely heard what they wanted to hear from their guest. First, a tough readiness not to let North Korea have nuclear weapons, and, second, an intention to keep the 37,000-strong group of U.S. forces "for as long as the Korean people desire and need their presence here."

Without the slightest internal resistance the Tokyo meeting's participants heard assurances of the following kind: "Some people in America fear that the U.S. global leadership is an obsolete luxury which we cannot afford. We say this: They are wrong."

On the eve of the Tokyo meeting such opinions were current not only in America. And it was not only in America that they caused concern. The laurels of supranational leaders deceive few people now. It seems as if every one of the presidents or premiers who got together in the Japanese capital is keeping in mind the reminder printed on the preelection bus of Clinton himself: "The economy, stupid!"

'Success' of Summit Viewed

PM1207153993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 93 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Sergey Agafonov report: "'Seven Plus One' Does Not Yet Equal 'Eight'"]

[Text] Tokyo—Now that the important delegations have left, the rapid round of protocol events in which the G-7 leaders were involved at the Tokyo summit has gone down in history, leaving quite a complex range of sentiments for our contemporaries to remember.

Although it is usual practice to profoundly analyze the summit results with an eye to the future, following this Tokyo round it is more logical to look not at the practical, concrete results (of which there were actually very few) but at the other, nonmaterial but very substantive categories such as the tone of the meetings and other aspects of the discourse, focusing on the main point for us—the Russian factor.

If we proceed on the basis of this task, we need to state above all that the former splendid and harmonious G-7 no longer exists. Whichever way you slice it, the end of the Cold War has had a bad impact on all the participants in this representative event. It transpires that, despite the abundance of declarations in favor of coordination within the G-7, its members have little in common. The forum has faded sharply in terms of the importance of its decisions, and there have been justifiable complaints about its dealing with trivia and the obvious lack of any issue that would knit the members together. In the "Soviet era" this issue was the communist threat and the bloc obligations which forced people to play by identical rules in a monolithic team. Nowadays this structure has lost its former supports, and new global tasks—such as helping Russia to stand on its own democratic, market "feet" and to keep all the unpleasant aspects of the transitional period within the borders of the CIS—are failing to meet with an appropriate reaction from the G-7. It is one thing to pay for salvation from the communist threat, but quite another to spend money on the restructuring requirements of the heirs of the late Union.

The G-7, and we have to realize this now, has successfully surmounted its fears about the restoration of the Soviet system—fears which peaked this spring. The "Western club" had invested a great many promises and real money in these fears, and no extra money should be expected in the next few years. The most eloquent testimony to the pointlessness of hoping for any new charity was provided by the privatization fund adopted by the Tokyo summit—the impressive-sounding $3 billion came in for praise. Even though, in actual fact, this is not new money but previously "declared" money reassigned to privatization. The Tokyo participants repeatedly noted the support for Russian reforms shown by the people in the April referendum, and stressed that nobody would help Russia apart from Russia itself.

The G-7 promised to think about really urgent Russian aspirations—new debt deferments, access to Western markets, the lifting of discriminatory restrictions, etc.—but we can assume that this thinking process will take some time. The president's optimistic forecasts that all barriers would be eliminated within two years are reassuring, but there are few real guarantees to back up those predictions—if, when granting aid, the West provides loans in various forms to be repaid with interest and which, apart from Russia, will also support specific economic sectors in the G-7 countries themselves, then implementing the equality principle in economic contacts and trade will mean giving the "green light" to a major competitor in our own market and foreign markets. Not everything is that simple.

At the same time, even under these conditions the Russian factor served a purpose for the G-7, since it did not allow the idea of the global coordination of diplomatic efforts to wither on the vine. Concern about the situation in Russia itself has smoothly turned into concern, along with Russia, about the situation in hot spots and regional conflict zones. In this sense the level of contacts has even increased—from simple consultations between the West and Moscow to the coordination of positions. To all intents and purposes, a new format for Russia's relations with the G-7 has emerged—subordinate to the "Western club's" economic problems and material interests, but with access to general and regional foreign political discussions. This format suits the G-7 (after all, there is no need to pay for political discussions) and it equally suits Moscow (the "seven plus one" formula is being enshrined, and it can be said that the West is already accepting Russia as an equal partner). Admittedly, we should not go overboard about the actual potential and reality of this equality—"seven plus one" does not yet equal "eight."

On the whole and despite all the aforesaid caveats, the Tokyo G-7 round can be considered a success for Russia—it avoided any major gaffes, and there were no lectures from its civilized partners or demeaning pleading for domestic needs. The "advance" was the prospect of the "seven plus one" formula—Yeltsin has been invited to next year's G-7 summit in Naples. Under these circumstances a greater success could hardly have been expected. Let us congratulate ourselves on that.

Russia Got 'Recycled' Old Promises

PM1207190793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 93 p 3

[Vladimir Gerasimov article: "Dollar Diplomacy. Old Recipes"]

[Text] The Tokyo G-7 summit was mainly the "target" of ironic, snide, and skeptical views from the world's press. Both before it and even at its "height"—when B. Yeltsin arrived—there was no rejoicing.

Perhaps in order to win prestige B. Clinton was aiming, like a circus trickster (remember the old joke) to shoot open a bag of garbage in the roof, making everyone dirty while he alone would be left in a white jacket, but nobody let him fire. Clinton's main aim in Tokyo—his international debut—was to demonstrate the U.S. "right" to world dominance. That was the "bag" which none of the other Tokyo summiteers would let him fire at. Both Japan, united Germany, and France will be jogging the U.S. President's elbow. The Japanese, for instance, do not want to let U.S. goods into their market. The European states are not crazy about U.S. pressure either. The burden of their own problems, the recession, and unemployment are realities they have to deal with. Charity begins at home. Although, of course, in order to boost his popularity at home, Clinton will present the Tokyo decision to lower customs duties for whisky and timber as a breakthrough and a great compromise with his partners. But they are indeed looking out for "number one." The statesmen who took part in the Tokyo summit have very low popularity ratings in their own countries, and if further concessions were made to the United States, this would probably be seen by their countrymen as being to the detriment of their own economic and political benefit.

Such phrases in the Tokyo summit economic declaration as "concern"—with regard to unemployment, which has reached 23 million in the G-7 countries—"coordinating a strategy for global growth," or "limiting protectionism in all its manifestations" cannot be termed anything but hot air. They are just words, words, and more words. The political declaration too was dubbed "feeble" by the world's press. You can find tougher descriptions—a "collection of specious phrases." Although ranking U.S. Administration staffers belief that this document fully reflects many of Washington's foreign policy priorities. One achievement was the agreement to consider the world community's most important task in the period following the end of the "cold war" as being to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. This is undoubtedly an important task, but it would be even weightier if the G-7 had advocated the task of campaigning for the complete destruction of nuclear potentials worldwide.

I think that the joint statement by Germany and Japan was an important political event in Tokyo. They decided, supporting each other, to strive to become members of the UN Security Council. To achieve this, Germany, for instance, would have to amend its constitution to allow its armed forces to take part in UN operations. As for the response to this latest "axis" between the Germans and the Japanese, one should look to the statement from British Foreign secretary D. Hurd. Here too Britain is showing its style by following its traditional policy of making haste slowly and exploiting the political and economic squabbling in the countries of West Europe. According to the minister, Britain will take a cautious stance on the question of Japan's membership of the UN Security Council. There are probably fears about its obstinacy, and this is the case. "We are primarily worried about the effectiveness of the Security Council," the minister stated in justification of his country's position.

Clinton was committed to his promises to help the Russian president. The latter would have left empty-handed had it not been for the strong U.S. pressure—there was some veritable arm-twisting. Clinton's partners at the Tokyo summit refused to meet their previous pledges, and the $3 billion "package" of loans, subsidies, and export credits was less than Yeltsin had been expecting. Moreover, specialists believe that in actual fact Russia will receive even less—$600-800 million. The G-7 has recycled its old promises which have still not been fulfilled.

With cheerful voices Russian Ministers A. Kozyrev and B. Fedorov will now try to persuade Russians on TV and radio that Russia was not a supplicant in Tokyo but an equal partner in the summit, and made its own contribution—which was virtually the most important—to the elaboration of the documents. This is all laughable. Russia did not make any progress in getting rid of discriminatory trade barriers. How can there be any question of equal rights if Russia is not to be entrusted with distribution of the promised credits for reasons of corruption—G-7 representatives are to set up a monitoring office in Moscow. None of the G-7 takes Russia seriously as a possible member of their club. It will be "seven plus one" for a long time. British Premier J. Major concluded directly: "The G-7 countries are the world's largest industrially developed powers. Russia does not fall into that category."

A different "category" has been prepared for us.

"Americans," Clinton stated, "expect to do a great deal of business in Russia, which will result in the creation of new jobs, business in power generation, the development of natural resources, the creation of technologies to protect the environment, and the production of the most varied kinds of consumer goods. This is a massive new market for U.S. goods and services."

At the start of the century the famous U.S. President W.H. Taft figuratively expressed U.S. policy by invoking the concept of "dollar diplomacy." This was a policy whereby, as he put it, "dollars would play the role of bullets." Using economic aid to make the recipient countries politically dependent—that was the very simple idea inherent in this statement. And that is how it has worked out.

But I would repeat an idea which was voiced the other day—the world will only take account of Russia when it becomes strong, unified, and united by common aspirations with its nearest neighbors. Otherwise, we will become a "huge market for U.S. goods."

Economist Skeptical of Proposals

MK1307074693 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 77, 13 Jul 93 (Signed to Press 12 Jul) p 1

[Commentary by Oleg Cherkovets, candidate of economics, in "After Tokyo" column: "A Meager 'Aid Package'"]

[Text] It seems that most of our compatriots have clearly realized that the periodic promises of "billions" of Western aid, far from materializing into crisp "greenbacks" in the pockets of tens of millions of Russian people, in fact have very little in common with the actual sums that the West sometimes does provide to Russia. The latest annual G-7 summit that has just ended in Tokyo, however, is indicative in the way that the leaders of the major states in the capitalist world did not trouble themselves with even pledging any substantial "aid packages" to this country.

Statements in the run-up to and at the beginning of the meeting coming from some domestic "radical democrats" to the effect that "the West should finally put the promised money on the table" turned out to be, in the atmosphere that characterized the meeting, rather like a flat joke. Can one really expect the West to "cough up" the money, given that the summit participants sought not even to mention the sum of more than $43 billion promised in the approach to the Russian referendum? What else could be expected from politicians who know how to count every penny? Whatever they might be declaring for propaganda purposes, "targeting the public," they themselves understand very well that the statements that come time and again from Russia about an "end of recession," "stabilization," and even "production growth," do not, to put it mildly, correspond to reality. So why then throw billions of dollars away, especially given that there are none of these billions freely available in the West in principle?

The only concrete figure mentioned at the Tokyo summit is very far removed from the $24 billion, $28 billion, and $43 billion promised consecutively since last April. The $3 billion "to promote privatization"—this is all that the "generous" West has come up with this time, especially considering that as of now only the United States and Japan have announced their readiness to make available specific sums to this fund, while the others limited themselves merely to "general approval" of the idea. Moreover, the resources for this fund, which Russia will have to repay with considerable interest, are to be released within a year and a half—a period that is rather "elastic:" One could procrastinate for a year to see how things work out in this country during this time.... A very safe position!

Overall, the West has once again "firmly supported Russia's decisive efforts to deepen reform"—it is just as well that paper will stand anything and that it does not impose any liability. As for the persistent demands by the Russian delegation invited to the common table on the second day of the meeting of the "Seven," on lifting the discriminatory trade regime with Russia, they were in fact left without a response. In contrast to the empty promises of "support," what is involved here is concrete—no, not even assistance but merely restoration of terms of equal partnership—and a negative reaction was not slow in coming. Incidentally, this is also an answer to the quite unrealistic expectations of some romantic-minded politicians concerning the prospects of turning the "group of seven" into a "group of eight." Are those who disseminate such fairly tales really hoping that Russia will be invited to the rich table as a "mouth" in its own right? That they will share with us those hundreds of billions that annually flow into the West from "Third World" countries and that constitute the foundation of its prosperity? They do not even want to trade with us as with equal partners—being afraid of a potential competitor! Therefore to hope that the "7+1" formula will be transformed into a full-fledged "8"—well, this is not even a joke, not even a very odd one.

Fraction of Privatization Fund Likely

MK1307073493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 33, 13 Jul 93 (Signed to Press 12 Jul) p 2

["M.L."-signed comment under the "Aid?" rubric: "$3 Billion Is Not Worse Than Two Because, Thank God, They Will Not Give Any"]

[Text] It was decided on the last day of the Tokyo summit to increase the sum of the projected privatization fund for Russia to $3 billion. SEGODNYA had already noted that this is the wrong time to extend this type of credit to Russia whereas the tenacious pushing for the credit by the Seven is explained exclusively by the stubbornness and arrogance of the United States from which this not too well considered proposal came.

Bilateral credits for goods, judging from experience, is the most realistic form of credits, but also the most harmful for Russia. It is also supposed that certain sums are to be provided to Russia by international financial organizations which are, incidentally, rather cool about the privatization fund idea.

Increasing the size of commission on the promised credit is apparently of no practical importance. There is a solid body of opinion among specialists that a considerable and, surely, the greater part of the credit will never be provided to Russia. This view is shared by practically all participants in the summit which, as a matter of fact, does not worry them at all. Neither Russia nor the United States' partners in the Seven are evidently any worse off for letting the Americans save face and get out of an idiotic situation in sort of a dignified manner.

Summit 'Did Not Resolve' Problems

PM1307095993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 93 p 7

[Nikolay Tsvetkov report: "Was There a Summit? Two Days After the G-7 Conference in Tokyo It Seems That Few Can Remember What Happened"]

[Text] Tokyo—Yeltsin and Clinton held an early morning meeting on the lawn. The lawn was in the compound of the U.S. Embassy. The time—0700—was chosen because the presidents were in a hurry. For one of them it was time to go to Baykal for a private conversation with Chancellor Kohl; for the other it was time for a farewell meeting with Prime Minister Miyazawa before leaving for Seoul. Clinton and Yeltsin appeared in front of journalists on the lawn after breakfast in excellent mood (the journalists, mobilized at 0600 hours, had not had breakfast and were clearly therefore less cheerful). Probably that is why there were a few mean questions asked. But we are not going to repeat them here because they did not alter the general impression. The main recollection here is that relations between Russia and the United States should henceforth be officially called a "remarkable partnership" ["zamechatelnoye partnerstvo"] and that Bill Clinton intends to visit Moscow before the end of the present calendar year.

It is good when statesmen meet one another, talk, and discuss things, and do not grumble at one another, try to trip each other up, and so forth. In almost 20 years now the annual multilateral summit has become a kind of barometer. The fact that it was held meant that on a global scale the political weather was set more or less fair. Beyond that—for example, the elaboration of decisions capable of really influencing the situation in world poitics and in the world economy—that is harder to say. After all there is not a single country which has a law which requires that the collective recommendations of the G-7 leaders be adopted for execution. That includes the G-7 countries themselves.

For example, will trade tariffs finally be lowered or not? Everyone says that they should be. They have been saying that for at least seven years now—that is how long the Uruguay Round of talks has been going within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). However, the round has made no progress because the figure of 23 million people—the number of unemployed in the G-7 countries—is proving considerably more effective than the politicians' smiles. The growth of unemployment dictates not the openness of the markets but, on the contrary, protectionist steps. That is all the voters will understand. A politician always thinks more about his voters "back home" than about the aspirations of his colleagues. Especially on the eve of elections, as in the case of Japan's premier, Miyazawa.

The summit did not resolve the problems facing the world economy. In the political sphere, too, matters were limited merely to a statement of how difficult everything is and what a complex thing life is. And to a detailed listing of the complexities that exist and of who caused them—North Korea, Iraq, Cambodia....

Now it is being said that it would be good to reorganize these costly annual gatherings, and hold them in some other form—without pomp or ceremony—but these are no more than noble impulses at the moment. The next "victim" of a G-7 gathering will be Naples in summer 1994. Boris Yeltsin has also been invited.

In the corridors of the Tokyo summit the reporters had plenty of time to dream about Italy. The Russians, for example, wondered whether a trip to the island of Capri is planned (at the moment it is not). The Italians predicted that there will be more songs and fewer delicacies. The Japanese do not hide their sense of superiority—Naples will not be able to handle the workload that Tokyo dealt with.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Briefs Newsmen 9 Jul

Denies Interfering in Azerbaijan

LD0907133193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1239 GMT 9 Jul 93

[By Sergey Staroselskiy and Leonid Timofeyev, ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 9 July—Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the department for information and the press of the Russian Foreign Ministry, described the statement made by President Elchibey to Turkish journalists on alleged Russian involvement in exacerbating the situation in Azerbaijan as totally groundless .

The representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry noted at a briefing today that such statements are causing surprise and deep disappointment in Moscow. According to Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, Russia does not need new pockets of tension on its borders, and it is doing everything possible in order to stabilize the situation in the Transcaucasus. In the diplomat's view, certain political leaders are trying to shift responsibility for their own blunders and mistakes in domestic and foreign policy onto some mythical "outside forces."

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy recalled that Moscow proceeds from the fact that the events currently taking place in Azerbaijan are strictly internal affairs of this sovereign state and its people. Russia is ready to cooperate with any leadership of the country that enjoys popular support and tries to solve internal problems along democratic and constitutional principles. The representative of the Foreign Ministry stressed that Russia is also ready to continue its mediation for stopping bloodshed around Nagorno-Karabakh and attaining a Karabakh settlement.

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said that Mario Raffaelli, chairman of the Minsk CSCE Conference on Nagorno-Karabakh, was going on a trip to Baku, Yerevan, and Stepanakert today in order to bring into effect, as of 13 July, the plan for implementing UN Security Council Resolution 822, drawn up by the Minsk group member states with Russia's active participation.

Comments on Middle East Talks

LD0907154693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1449 GMT 9 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Staroselsky and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS—Russian-US co-sponsorship has proved its effectiveness in Middle East settlement, according to multilateral support group which held Wednesday its third meeting in Moscow.

Sergey Yastrzhembsky, Foreign Ministry spokesman, told a briefing on Friday that the multilateral dimension of the peace process "was operating rhythmically and productively as an important factor complimenting the principal dimension which was bilateral." Support group's ideas and draft documents were seen as tangible contribution to practical international cooperation in the region.

The meeting scheduled the working group on refugees to convene in Tunis October 12-14, on water resources in Beijing October 26-28, on regional security and armaments control in Moscow November 2-4, on economic development in Copenhagen November 8-9, and on environment in Cairo November 15-16.

Views UN Security Council

LD0907161093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1544 GMT 9 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS—The U.N. Security Council is not a body which is not subject to reforms, its functioning should be further improved, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

"The most important condition for any possible steps must be strengthening of promptness and effectiveness in the activities of the U.N. Security Council which this body has acquired lately," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

We believe, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy noted, that discussions about the future of the U.N. Security Council should not give rise to political friction and confrontation. A great number of conflicts in the world and the United Nations' involvement in them are such that we cannot afford making an "overhaul" of a mechanism which is not only "unbroken" but is working smoothly, the Russian diplomat said.

It is important to act proceeding from the logic of the U.N. Charter according to which the major attention, from the viewpoint of the U.N. membership, should be paid to the degree of participation of members of this organisation in maintaining international peace and security and attaining other purposes of the United Nations, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy pointed out.

Being aware of the real need in a greater reliance of the Security Council on views of the members of the world community when making decisions, Russia has just sent to the U.N. secretary-general a proposal to consider specific measures in this direction, the Russian diplomat said. He explained that Russia proposes to invite regional organisations to meetings of the U.N. Security Council, set up auxiliary bodies of the Security Council, broaden powers of the General Assembly in such aspects of maintaining peace and security as the establishment of democratic institutions and protection of human rights.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Briefs Newsmen 13 Jul

Warns Iraq Against 'Reckless Actions'

LD1307110893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1052 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—Russia warned Iraq against reckless actions which trigger new tensions in its relations with the United Nations.

"We would like to again warn Baghdad against reckless actions which could be detrimental first and foremost for the interests of Iraq itself and its people", Foreign Ministry spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told reporters on Tuesday [13 July], adding that the Russian Foreign Ministry continues contacts with Iraq in order to make it eliminate new "complicatioms" in relations with UN observers as soon as possible.

"Our representatives continue to actively work through the Russian Embassy in Baghdad and in the UN Secureity Council", the spokesman said.

Protests Beating of Citizens in DPRK

LD1307124393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1123 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow, July 13 (TASS)—Russia resolutely protested the beating of its citizens in a North Korean city and hinted that the violence was o'kayed by local authorities. It also warned it may recall its personnel from the country if the attacks continue.

"The Russian Foreign Ministry officially states that the Russian side is not going to remain indifferent towards attempts on the life, health and dignity of Russian citizens in Korea, a well as in any other country", Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sergey Yastrzhemsbkiy told a briefing on Tuesday [13 July].

He commented on a July 4 attack on a group of Russians who travelled to a North Korean city for rest, had an official permission for the trip and were beaten up at a local marketplace. He did not name the city.

The spokesman said that the group which included a woman and a child was attacked with fists and sticks in the marketplace. "Our people sustained injuries. For those who are acquainted with the rules existing in North Korea it is clear that the incident was hardly of spontaneous character", Yastrzhembskiy said.

He added that "we cannot be satisfied" with the fact that North Korean authorities refused to apologise and refund damage to the Russian citizens and attempted to blame them for the incident.

The spokesman said that Russia may decrease the number of its personnel in North Korea if local authorities do not provide reliable guarantees of their safety.

"The Russian ambassador in Pyongyang left for Moscow for holidays during which corresponding consultations will be held with him", Yastrzhemsbkiy said.

Reacts to Estonian Aliens Law

LD1307121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1103 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jul (TASS)—Initial examination of the new text of Estonia's Law on Foreigners shows "that the Estonian parliament has not taken account of the many observations made by the CSCE and Council of Europe," Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry information and press department, told a media briefing today.

He pointed out that regrettably, the Estonian leadership's declared intent to include representatives of one of the main interested parties—the Russian-speaking community—in discussion of legislative acts has not been put into effect.

"As a result, Russia's concerns remain regarding the future course of events in Estonia," he said.

Grachev Says Decision on Sevastopol 'Hasty'

LD1207142293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1417 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev opposed the decision of the Russian parliament to proclaim the major naval base of the Black Sea Fleet as Russian territory.

He told TASS on Monday [12 July] the decision on Sevastopol was "hasty" and "can lead to confrontation between the two states" of Russia and Ukraine.

He said the problem is to be solved at negotiations between Russian and Ukrainian representatives jointly with Crimean envoys and officers of the Black Sea Fleet.

"One should not make such sharp statements as the Russian parliament did", Grachev said.

Foreign Ministers Discuss Sevastopol

LD1207204793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On Monday [12 July] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko were discussing Russian-Ukrainian relations over the phone in light of the Russian parliament's decision on the status of Sevastopol.

During the day the Russian Foreign Ministry officially disassociated itself from this decision, and now the leadership of the two countries are fumbling for ways to settle the situation.

It has become known that Ukraine plans to submit the problem of Sevastopol to a meeting of the premiers of the Central European Initiative Organization, which Ukraine plans to join.

Government Approves Nuclear Treaties With Ukraine

LD1307101493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0906 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jul—The Russian Government has approved the drafts of intergovernmental treaties with the Ukraine on utilization of nuclear warheads and the status of S-grade facilities on Ukrainian territory.

According to the draft treaties, Russia undertakes to ensure that nuclear warheads and the highly enriched uranium they contain will be reprocessed into low-grade enriched uranium for use as fuel elements in Ukraine's nuclear power stations. Russia will also ensure long-term storage of nuclear components resulting from this treatment of the warheads.

S-grade facilities in Ukraine—military nuclear technician units that store nuclear munitions and work with them—will, under the drafts, be subordinated to the Russian Defense Ministry until the full destruction of nuclear munitions, and as long as such munitions are located in Ukraine, Russia will be committed to scientific and technological provisions for their use and to taking every measure to ensure their safety.

The treaties should be signed at the level of heads of state by the Russia and Ukraine.

Trilateral Talks on Abkhazia Fail To Produce Cease-Fire

LD1207135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1342 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—Russia failed to broker ceasefire in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict on Monday [12 July] because Abkhazians advanced a new demand which Georgians refused to meet, according to head of the Russian delegation Boris Pastukhov.

He told reporters that although the parties at the Russian- Georgian-Abkhazian negotiations in Moscow agreed on the withdrawal of all troops and armed units from the conflict zone, the talks stumbled after Abkhazians demanded that their parliament and bodies of authority return to Sukhumi after the Georgian pullout and resume fulfilling their duties.

The Georgian side said it is not ready to consider the demand and that it retains the right to review the reached agreements.

During the talks Russia insisted that ceasefire should be ensured first and the issue of the work of legitimate authorities is to be considered later and become a part of the document on full-scale settlement, according to Pastukhov.

He regretted that neither of the warring sides has responded to the Russian demand to cease fire.

However, Pastukhov called on Georgians and Abkhazians to show flexibility, look for compromise and urgently sign a ceasefire agreement.

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Ties With Germany

AU1207190393 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 11 Jul 933 p 2

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by Heinz Vielain; place and date not given: "'The Germans Are Russia's Most Important Partners in Europe'"]

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin considers "good relations with Germany to be the most important aspect of the European policy" of his country. In an interview with WELT AM SONNTAG, he said that it is pleasing that relations are free from major problems.

The head of the Russian Government said that rapid improvement of economic ties was imperative: "There are many things that have to be done here, and I hope that my talks in Bonn will result in a sizeable upward trend."

The prime minister of the Russian Federation will come to Germany for a three-day visit this Wednesday [14 July]. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl will welcome him at 1400 at Cologne-Bonn Airport. After working talks with Kohl, Chernomyrdin will meet President Richard von Weizsaecker.

Regarding his visit, he told WELT AM SONNTAG: "We do not want to ask for money in Bonn. We are in a position to earn it ourselves. What we need is an opportunity to do this. Russia's integration into the world economy with equal rights is essential. All obstacles have to be removed. The Germans can help us in this connection."

Chernomyrdin expects that all trade restrictions that still exist with the West will be lifted. The shaping of Russia's relations with the EC must soon be settled on the basis of a treaty to turn his country into a solvent member of the international community. "We are hoping for Germany's understanding." This would "benefit not only Russia."

Chernomyrdin will point to favorable conditions for foreign investment in Russia. This applies "to German investment in particular. These have been of great help to our economy. I appeal to German companies to overcome their hesitancy and caution in opening up the market in Russia. Things there are far from being as gloomy as one sometimes hears, even though they are not as comfortable as in Germany itself or in Taiwan, for example," Chernomyrdin noted. He added that his country is grateful to the Germans for "the efficient support for the Russian reforms." The same applies to all relief measures of the Kohl government intended to bring Russia closer to the G-7 states.

Chernomyrdin said that in Germany he was hoping for advice on how, after the economic reforms, further help can be lent to Russia for the process of reshaping the economy. "German know-how is of particular value to us." He expects significant support for his country from his talks with economic representatives.

Asked about the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany, Chernomyrdin stated that any pending problems would be solved before long: "The conclusion of the troop withdrawal in August next year will not only be a milestone in the history of German-Russian relations but also in post-war European history."

The construction of homes for the Russians of the former Soviet Union who withdrew from Germany is impressive. Chernomyrdin particularly praised the achievements of the Germans in the construction of 29 settlements with 33,900 apartments in Russia for which the Federal Government has provided 8.35 billion German marks. Another 21,500 apartments are being financed from the budget of the Russian Federation, Chernomyrdin said.

Regarding safety problems in Soviet nuclear power stations, which—as the catastrophe of Chernobyl has shown—affect all European countries, Chernomyrdin emphasized that his government would do everything to prevent "incidents like Chernobyl from recurring. We have a solid program for modernizing the nuclear power stations. The help we have been offered by Germany and other countries could considerably speed up the necessary work."

His government is grateful for Germany's efforts to provide technological aid within the framework of the EC. "Russia and Germany are now closely cooperating in the sphere of nuclear energy, which gives hope for quick and good results," the Russian Government head said.

After talks with Von Weizsaecker and Kohl, Chernomyrdin will meet Free Democratic Party of Germany [FDP] Ministers Klaus Kinkel (Foreign Affairs) and Guenter Rexrodt (Economics). That evening, Kinkel will host a dinner in honor of the guest from Moscow.

On Thursday, Chernomyrdin will have breakfast with business representatives in Bonn before flying off to Bergisch Gladbach, where he will be received for lunch by the minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia, Johannes Rau, of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. Afterwards, the Russian official will address the German economy's East Committee in Cologne, and then go to Berlin, where he has been invited to dinner at Charlottenburg Palace by Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Mayor Diepgen. On Friday, Chernomyrdin is scheduled to visit the Trust Agency. After visiting several enterprises in Brandenburg, he will fly back to Moscow.

To Visit 14 Jul

LD1307124993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1223 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin is expected to go on a three-day visit to Germany on July 14, ITAR-TASS learnt from reliable sources in the Russian Government.

The aim of the visit will be "to deepen economic cooperation between Russia and Germany". The premier will go to Bonn and Berlin during his visit.

Under the preliminary programme of the visit, Chernomyrdin will meet the German chancellor and president and will have talks with the economics and foreign ministers.

The sides are expected to sign an agreement on air service between Russia and Germany. The programme also provides for meetings with the German business community, visits to industrial enterprises and the Western Group of Russian Troops.

Intelligence Service Denies Collusion With Bonn

LD1307112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1025 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn, 13 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—Under the sensational heading "Great Terror", the German magazine FOKUS, in its edition no. 28 of 12 July, publishes an article alleging that Director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service Yevgeniy Primakov handed over to Bonn material from the archives of the former GDR state security service. The weekly puts forward the supposition that mass arrests of agents in the FRG will follow the hand over.

The magazine reports that the documents contain the names and pseudonyms of people who worked for the main administration of the GDR Security Ministry. The weekly does not cite any specific names.

In connection with the publication in the German magazine FOKUS, the press bureau of the Foreign Intelligence Service is authorized to state the following:

Reports circulated recently by a number of German publications on this matter are lies. A month ago the Foreign Intelligence Service made an appropriate denial, but publications of this type continue in the FRG. The latest one in FOKUS shows particularly clearly that a piece of deliberately aimed disinformation is being made, the idea of which did not, apparently, originate in the press itself.

Several aims can be detected behind this act. First, to make maximum use of the "Russian factor" in the internal political struggle in Germany, and to find so-called "substantial arguments" in attempts to weaken political opponents. Second, perhaps, to conceal the true source of one or another piece of information used in this struggle.

There is no point in saying in detail that such devices are inherited from the times of the "cold war", the statement by the press bureau stresses.

U.S. Nuclear Scientists Visit Tomsk-7, Share Views

LD1307101993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 13 Jul 93

[Text] Following the accident in the radiochemical section of the Siberian Chemical Combine in Tomsk-7 on 6 April this year, the town, which until recently was classified top secret, has been visited by an official delegation of U.S. nuclear scientists. At the end of the visit, they exchanged views with their hosts. The head of the American delegation, Dr. Charles Gilbert, who is the coordinator of defense programs at the Energy Department, said that there had been six accidents at similar U.S. enterprises from 1953 till 1991. American specialists shared their experience in coping with the aftermath of such accidents with their Russian colleagues, ITAR-TASS reports.

U.S. Welcome for Brigade's Withdrawal From Cuba Cited

PM1207133593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 2

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "White House Welcomes Russian Brigade's Withdrawal From Cuba"]

[Text] An official White House spokesman has issued a statement which calls the completion of the Russian training brigade's withdrawal from Cuba 3 July this year a "historic landmark."

Although Russian servicemen remain in Cuba ("in a different capacity," the spokesman for the U.S. President pointed out), it was the presence of the Russian military unit on the island that was one of the last relics of the Cold War, and its return home is not so much of military as symbolic, political significance. The closure of U.S. military installations in Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, and the region of the famous Fulda Bulge is an analogous step by the United States.

Credit Agreement With Cuba for Joint Projects

PM0907135393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Andrey Kamorin report: "Moscow Will Grant Havana Credit To Construct Joint Projects"]

[Text] Russian Federation Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin and Lionel Soto, vice president of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, signed an agreement in Moscow Wednesday under which Russia will grant Cuba credit to the tune of $380 million.

It is a question of funds earmarked for continuing the construction of national economic projects begun on the island with the Soviet Union's technical assistance. Several dozen such programs were in existence at the time of the USSR's breakup, although even then most of them had virtually been frozen because of the shortage of funds and interruptions in deliveries. The situation deteriorated further, and joint construction projects found themselves in a dead end. Meanwhile many of them were of vital importance to such sectors of the island's economy as the nickel and sugar industries and oil refining, i.e. to the republic's export potential above all, in whose development both sides are interested, as this is the only possible way to create a basis for resolving the problem of Cuba's debts to our country.

According to the documents signed in Moscow, the credit will be used to continue 12 of the most promising projects. Some $30 million appears as a separate entry in the agreement to mothball the Juragua Nuclear Electric Power Station. Completion of the construction of this long-suffering project has been postponed so many times that many specialists reckoned that a nuclear power station would never be constructed in Cuba.

To judge from A. Shokhin's words, however, the station's mothballing does not mean the death of the pioneer of Cuban nuclear power engineering. The vice premier declared that construction of the nuclear power station will continue in the future thanks to capital investments from third countries.

Pacific Fleet Move Not Enough To Keep Shipping Safe

PM1207155193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Nikolay Burbyga report: "Warships Protect Civilian Ships Because of Continuing Attacks on Our Fishermen in East China Sea"]

[Excerpts] According to an ITAR-TASS report the Pacific Fleet command has issued an order to all the fleet's warships and auxiliaries in the area of the East China Sea to ensure the security of Russian merchant ships and fishing boats sailing here.

This decision was made because of increasing instances of attacks on Russian ships in the waters of the East China Sea. The Navy Press Center has reported that lately pirate attacks on Russian ships have become epidemic. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of military experts the plunderous attacks on Russian ships became possible as a result of a reduction in Russia's naval presence in this region. In order to ameliorate the situation in some way the Pacific Fleet command decided on its own initiative to ready a number of warships and auxiliaries to go to places where incidents occur and step up its monitoring of the situation in the East China Sea. However, in the opinion of the same experts this decision will pay few dividends because it requires considerable resources and a special decision by the Russian Government to ensure the total security of shipping in this region.

PRC Official on 'Embarrassing' Ship Seizure

LD1307064793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0641 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Fedoruk]

[Text] Beijing July 13 TASS—An official of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, commenting on an incident in the East China Sea in which the Russian ship "Valeriy Volkov" was detained, told ITAR-TASS that some embarrassing incidents might occur as a campaign against smuggling in the East China Sea is expanding.

The Chinese official said that Russia and China maintain good relations and that China would not like similar incidents to happen in future.

The incident occurred when "Valeriy Volkov", carrying a cargo of metal, was heading to the Chinese sea port of Singan. As the ship was approaching the Chinese coast, it was attacked by a Chinese border guard ship and shelled from submachine-guns. Chinese border guards went aboard the Russian ship and searched it. However, no illegal cargo was found.

The Chinese official said that some incidents, which were reported earlier, should be investigated. China sincerely hopes for peace and calm to be maintained in the East China Sea, the Chinese diplomat said.

It was not the first time that Chinese border guards attacked Russian ships. Recently, the Chinese Foreign Ministry made an apology following illegal detention of the Russian ship "Soyuz-4" in international waters by a Chinese ship.

Parliamentarians Criticize Council of Europe Entry Terms

PM0907104394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksey Vorobyev report under the "Press Conferences" rubric: "Europe Incomplete Without Russia!"]

[Text] Strange conditions for Russia's entry as an equal member of the Council of Europe were put forward the other day in Strasbourg by this organization's leaders. This thought was often repeated during a press conference by the Russian Supreme Soviet delegation which participated in this event. Our country was instructed to adopt a new constitution and hold new parliamentary elections, and only after that will be able to be equal among the participants in the Council of Europe Assembly.

Ye. Ambartsumov, chairman of the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, recalled that back in 1990 the Council of Europe was ready to accept the then USSR headed by M. Gorbachev as one of its members with open arms and without any preliminary requirements. In present-day Russia, and the parliamentary delegation's members noted this together in a special statement, profound constitutional reform has already been implemented and the first genuinely democratic elections have taken place, in connection with which the Supreme Soviet delegation quite rightly raised the following question with the Council of Europe leadership: Is it permissible to force Russia to wait in the European antechamber too long?

The absurdity of this situation is merely underlined by the fact that Romania, for example, was accepted into the organization while retaining the constitution from Ceausescu's time, and the same happened with Estonia, which blatantly ignored the Council of Europe's demand to observe generally accepted human rights.

Anyway, despite the considerable moral harm caused to our country by such actions, the harm to the Council of Europe will be much more appreciable, and all participants in the parliamentary delegation agreed on this.

As regards the situation in Estonia, it was precisely such placid and unconditional acceptance of it as a Council of Europe member that largely facilitated the toughening of its stance in relation to the Russian-speaking population.

Khasbulatov Comments

LD1307021493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2110 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Krasnoshchekov]

[Text] Strasbourg, 13 Jul—The center of attention during a meeting on Monday between Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, was the prospects for developing relations between the Russian Supreme Soviet and this international organization. The speaker of the Russian parliament is heading a Supreme Soviet delegation which has come to Strasbourg to establish closer contacts with the Council of Europe and to take part in the work of the regular session of the Europarliament that has opened here.

As R. Khasbulatov noted in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, during a conversation which lasted longer than 90 minutes, Catherine Lalumiere showed great interest in the political and economic situation in Russia and in the activities of the Russian parliament. He emphasized in this respect that the adoption of a new Russian Federation constitution is not, in his view, the most pressing problem facing the country now. Most attention, the Russian speaker underlined, should be given to normalizing the situation in the Russian economy, to avoid its breakup and provide for further progress along the path of reform. "As for the constitution, it will be adopted when we have accepted it," he stated.

Commenting on the prospects of Russia entering the Council of Europe, where it has enjoyed the status of "special guest" since January 1992, R. Khasbulatov pointed out that the preliminary conditions laid down by this international organization—the adoption of a new constitution and the holding of parliamentary elections in the country—represent, in effect, interference in Russia's internal affairs. In his view, the Russian Federation has all the prerequisites for full membership in the Council of Europe. If we were to follow the logic of the Council of Europe, then many states would not have the right to be a member, for example, Great Britain, which does not have a constitution at all, or Estonia, where human rights are being violated all the time, R. Khasbulatov said. "I do not support the idea of demanding that our country be accepted as quickly as possible into the Council of Europe if this organization is not yet ready for this decision," he concluded.

According to the agenda for the speaker's visit to Strasbourg, he is to meet on 14 July with Europarliament Chairman Egon Klepsch. R. Khasbulatov will hold a news conference at the Palace of Europe in Strasbourg on the same day.

European, Russian Parliamentary Groups Meet in Luxembourg

LD0907203093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1639 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS—The information centre of the Russian president's administration reported that at a joint conference of deputies of the European Parliament (the faction of the European People's Party), representatives of the parliament of the Russian Federation and political parties and movements (the Free Democratic Party of Russia, the Party of Economic Freedom and the movement "Democratic Russia), held in Luxembourg on July 8, problems of Russia's integration into the world community and ways of optimum Western support to Russian reforms were discussed.

A resolution adopted by participants in the conference says:

1. We support the development of political and economic reforms which can guarantee the rights of an individual and ensure normal living standards for the people of Russia;

2. We declare that conditions for full-fledged political partnership, which might make Western involvement more efficient, have not been created yet in the system of representative power in Russia. The Russian parliament was elected on March 4, 1990 before Article 6 of the Constitution of the former Soviet Union, ensuring that the monopoly right to power belonged only to one party—the Communist Party, had been abolished.

After radical changes which took place in Russia and in Europe, the appearance of multi-party society and Russia's emerging in the international arena as an independent state it is difficult to regard the Russian parliament as a full-fledged modern parliament capable of efficiently expressing the interests of Russian society and as a full-fledged parliament to carry a political dialogue with the European Parliament.

3. The idea of early elections of the new parliament was supported by an overwhelming majority of Russians in the April referendum, and we side with the opinion of Russian citizens. We believe that the soonest adoption of a new constitution of the Russian Federation and elections of a new parliament would step up political and economic reforms in Russia and ease its return to the world civilisation.

Polish Defense Minister Ends Visit, Departs

PM1307090593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] On Friday [9 July], the last day of his official visit to Russia, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, minister of national defense of the Republic of Poland, made a trip to Sergiyev Posad, where he familiarized himself with masterpieces of Russian church architecture and met with representatives of the orthodox clergy.

Then J. Onyszkiewicz left for home. An official send-off ceremony took place at Chkalovskiy Airfield.

Iraq Friendship Society Aide Hits 'Doctrine of Cynicism'

PM1207141593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 5

[Article by Professor Eduard Volodin, president of Society of Friends of the Iraqi People: "Doctrine of Cynicism"]

[Text] In a TV interview our "dear Andrey" (Russian Federation Foreign Minister Kozyrev) yet again washed his hands of approving America's thuggish action—the shelling of Iraq. In the new version, it turns out, he did not approve the shelling, but reacted with understanding to the arguments of his American patrons in favor of annihilating civilian residents of the Iraqi capital. Such matchless and cynical tergiversation—but we are already inured to everything, and swallowed this "profundity" as well.

However, Kozyrev is not the sort to quit while he is ahead. He also decided to announce in the TV interview a humane approach to the problem of the genocide of the Iraqi people. Briefly, the gist of this approach is as follows. Iraq refuses to allow monitors into missile test sites (that is to say, in accordance with international norms, it maintains its sovereignty and the principle of noninterference in its internal affairs). This offends the world's policeman, the United States, and the policeman may yet again hit the cities and villages of a freedom-loving people. If this happens, "dear Andrey" will support the United States—his Russia is, after all, a member of the anti-Iraq coalition and must be loyal to the obligations it has undertaken.

Questions arise. When did the Russian Federation officially become a member of the anti-Iraq coalition? Are the total losses from the introduction of the embargo sustained by, for example, the All-Russian "Tekhnoeksport" Association—in the order of $173 million—payment for participation in the suffocation of Iraq? Can the unreceived funds from, for instance, the suspension of the construction of the al-Yusufiyah heat and power station, including the total of orders not received to the tune of almost $4 billion, be viewed as a payment for understanding the reasoning of the U.S. Administration?

Finally, how does participation in the anti-Iraq coalition square with the existence of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with Iraq signed back at the beginning of the seventies? Or maybe cynicism has become the norm of the foreign affairs wheeler-dealer, and simultaneous friendship and annihilation of a whole people are viewed as a breakthrough for "panhuman values"?!

Jordan's Ambassador to U.S. on Middle East Talks

LD0907204593 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1300 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Interview with Fayiz al-Tarawinah, Jordanian ambassador to the U.S., by unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] The Supervisory Group session of the multilateral talks on the Middle East settlement ended in Moscow a few days ago. Here is an interview with Jordan's ambassador to the U.S., Fayiz Tarawinah, given to our correspondent:

[Correspondent] What were the results of the meeting on multilateral negotiations held in Moscow, and what were the main issues debated?

[Al-Tarawinah] The meeting was that of the multilateral talks Steering Committee that supervises the meetings of the five working groups held at various places in the world: the Committee on Water, the Committee on the Environment, the Committee on Arms Control, the Committee on Refugees, and the Committee on Economic Development. Today we heard reports on the progress of work in these committees, on recent meetings. The Supervisory Group members discussed the future of the peace process in general. Then we heard a report on the results of the bilateral meetings in Washington, the 10th round that ended a week ago. Also, we agreed on the places of further meetings in September and October 1993.

[Correspondent] What is, in your assessment, the role of Russia and the U.S. in the peace process in the Middle East?

[Al-Tarawinah] In fact, since the start of the Madrid conference, the U.S. and Russian co-sponsors have been exerting every effort to keep the peace process alive, and to bridge the gap between the parties to the conflict. In bilateral negotiations they always try to contact the sides involved in the talks in an attempt to intervene at times to find formulae acceptable to the two sides. Until now they have not been able to achieve any major progress in bilateral negotiations, but they follow the progress of work on all issues in the bilateral and multilateral talks. Their role is major and deserves thanks in fact, for it allows the sides to the Middle East conflict to continue the debates that we hope will lead to peace in the Middle East.

[Correspondent] The peaceful solution is not an end in itself. How do you envision the Middle East region in the aftermath of peace, God willing, from the aspect of Arab-Israeli and inter-Arab relations? In your opinion will there be sufficient political stability in the Middle East after the ending of the Arab-Israeli confrontation?

[Al-Tarawinah] It is perhaps premature to talk about the future. We are trying to make the future. We are trying to present Arab rights before the world and tell the world we are ready to achieve peace in the event of the reinstitution of these rights to their owner. The Palestinian cause is the main thing. The Palestinian people under occupation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are daily suffering greatly from this occupation. It is a people struggling for an identity and an entity. As regards the other sides, there are occupied Arab territories whether in Jordan, Syria, or Lebanon, and also there are other rights pertaining to refugees in these countries; and there are rights to waters, etc. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How do you visualize the future of the Palestinian state. Is it possible to set up some kind of a union or a federation between Jordan and Palestine?

[Al-Tarawinah] First we have to define our attitude in full. We believe in the independence of the Palestinian decision. We also believe that the Palestinian track in the negotiations is an independent one. That is, no one is negotiating on behalf of the Palestinians. We are in process of constant coordination with our Palestinian brothers, but we are not negotiating on their behalf. Therefore, the corner stone is the right to self-determination. We believe that the Palestinians have a leadership and have the freedom to self-determination. The search for some form of union or cooperation is premature. The situation must crystallize after the end of the transitional phase and then the discussion of the final phase. On the basis of what our brothers arrive at in coordination with the other Arabs, and through their negotiations with the Israeli side, the Jordanian side and the Palestinian side will enter into discussions and see what their interest dictates. We cannot decide now on the form of cooperation or this union. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Has there been progress in the talks between Jordan and Israel?

[Al-Tarawinah] There has been no progress in the sense of progress until now. We are in a state of exhaustive debate on many issues and we have begun with the articles dealing with our rights: Water rights, refugees right to return to their homeland, also the occupied Jordanian land in the southern part of the kingdom, but we are still in the process of discussion and exploration of attitudes, but there has been no progress. We have always believed in a comprehensive peace, and we made this public. We cannot make a separate solution and there must be balance on all the tracks of the talks. We cannot achieve progress before the Palestinians or the others. We are in constant coordination with others and maintain the balance in the achievement of progress. This does not mean that we do not discuss our problems. We discuss, but naturally there will not be any implementation of anything we achieve unless our other Arab brothers, the partners in the peace process, also reach their goal. [passage omitted]

Saudi Ambassador to Moscow Interviewed

PM1307092993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with 'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhyi-al-Din al-Khujah, Saudi Arabian ambassador to Moscow, by Galina Bilyalitdinova; place and date of interview not given: "We Are the Center of Stability"]

[Text] "We are the center of stability," believes Mr. 'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhyi-al-Din al-Khujah, the ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. "I entered the political arena by mistake," the ambassador smiles. One can understand him: Having graduated from university in Britain he quite soon became a chemistry professor well known in his country, but in Russia he was known as a lyrical poet. An anthology of his poems will soon be published in Russian. The ambassador promised to give our editorial office a copy.

[Bilyalitdinova] Mr. Ambassador, the history of diplomacy between our countries is quite interesting. Saudi Arabia was the first Arab country to establish diplomatic relations with Russia in the twenties. Later these ties were suspended for a long time. And now you are the first ambassador to the new Russia. Is it hard to work in a country which is experiencing instability, contradictions, wars, and political conflicts?

[Al-Khujah] First of all I should like to say very frankly that our relations formed long ago. The former Soviet Union was one of the first states to recognize the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and to establish diplomatic relations with it. By virtue of certain circumstances for a long time these relations were frozen. Glory to Allah, these relations between the Russian Federation in its new form and the Kingdom have been restored. We believe that right now Russia is passing through a period of changes for the better and what is happening in your country is a natural process. I feel proud to be the first ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Russian Federation.

I do not experience any difficulties in my contacts with statesmen or in establishing business relations with various state institutions or in communicating with Russians. I believe that our relations are developing successfully and consistently.

As for the changes you mentioned I think that these are natural changes and it is perfectly understandable that in the transition from one social system to another utterly different from the first the country and society are passing through a critical period like the present one, but I think that this period will not be long and will end soon but Russia will remain as before one of the world's mightiest powers.

[Bilyalitdinova] A country in the desert which exports wheat generates deep respect. What explains this success in Saudi Arabia's agriculture? Surely not merely investments?

[Al-Khujah] Primarily faith in the almighty and all-powerful Allah and also confidence in the success of our business. As a civilized state we have harmoniously combined religion and science. The world has never seen that before. We have been able to combine various theories and use sophisticated technology. As a result the desert has been transformed into a paradise on earth. We have wrought this miracle and begun to grow wheat in our vast desert with the minimum expenditure. We not only satisfy our domestic requirements for grain, we also sell it abroad. We have succeeded in doing this through the grace of Allah and thanks to the high degree of organization of labor, the industry of our citizens, and the harmony and cooperation between the leadership and the people and, finally, thanks to the economic freedom which our citizens possess.

[Bilyalitdinova] How does your country's leadership assess the position of Russian diplomacy in settling the Near East conflict?

[Al-Khujah] I think that our leadership assesses highly the position of the Russian Federation. We believe that the role of the Russian Federation is appropriate to the role of the United States in resolving this problem,in eliminating confrontation, and accelerating the peace process between the Arab countries and Israel. Russia will always play a strong and effective part in advancing the Near East talks toward a successful conclusion.

[Bilyalitdinova] Esteemed ambassador, in your opinion is there a new course of the new Russia with regard to the Arab countries and how does it differ from the policy pursued by the Soviet Union?

[Al-Khujah] I believe that there have not been, are not, and will not be contradictions in political relations between Russia and the former Soviet Union on the one hand and the Arab countries on the other. These relations have long been good. The Soviet Union and now Russia is one of the few states which has not had any conflicts and military clashes with the Arab countries. We have always had good relations and we shall preserve that standard in the future. Of course, sometimes priorities in relations between countries undergo changes, depending on those countries' political and economic interests, but in general I believe that relations between the Russian Federation and the Arab countries remain good, based on good-neighborliness and the commonality of culture and economic interests.

Perhaps the Persian Gulf states were not a priority in the foreign policy of the former Soviet Union, but now Moscow's contacts with those countries have assumed priority thanks to the decisive ideological turn which has taken place in Russia. These changes are by no means leading to a cooling of relations with other Arab countries since mutual advantage and economic interests always come first in international relations. Russia, thanks to its political weight in the world, pursues a balanced and effective policy with all countries, which we assess highly and approve.

[Bilyalitdinova] After the well known events in the Persian Gulf, Saudi Arabia's role in the Arab world was strengthened. Do you believe that in this connection your country can be a guarantor of peace and stability in the region?

[Al-Khujah] Yes, it can. Before the after the crisis the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been a guarantor and safety valve for this entire region and remains so now and will retain its function in the future thanks to its political weight in the region and its unique domestic stability. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia remains a model for all neighboring countries. We have become a safety valve not only for our region but also for the whole world because of our important geographical position. We are the center of stability not only in the Near East region but also throughout the world.

[Bilyalitdinova] Already, esteemed Mr. Ambassador, you have been elected president of the Islamic cultural center in Russia itself. Dozens of mosques have been constructed and restored and madaris, schools for the study of the Arabic language and culture, have been opened using funds which you give freely. Money has also been given for hospitals, homes for the elderly, and poor families. Is it the case that Saudi Arabia has given the young Russia more money than, for instance, America, or a number of European countries?

[Al-Khujah] I do not know how much money the United States or other countries have given Russia, but I can state that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia gave the Soviet Union in the final years of its existence over $250 million. In addition from time to time other types of aid are provided. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes it is its duty and fulfills it thanks to its humane nature. It does not demand loud publicity, praise, or thanks. It believes this free aid to be its humanitarian Islamic duty.

Constitution Issues

Yeltsin Addresses Constitutional Conference

LD1207131893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Address by President Boris Yeltsin to the fourth plenary session of the Constitutional Conference in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed participants in the Constitutional Conference: We hope very much that today's meeting will be the final one in the first phase. We hope very much that it will. There has been a lot of debate and discussion, there have been a great many arguments at various levels, and we have had many amendments, comments, and so on. A draft constitution which we can recommend as a draft has been born. But first, my report.

Esteemed participants in the Constitutional Conference, citizens of the Russian Federation: For more than a month here in the Moscow Kremlin the Constitutional Conference has been determining the foundations of Russia's new democratic and federative statehood. A huge amount of intensive and laborious work has been carried out on the draft of the new Russian Federation constitution. Thousands of people—ordinary citizens, activists from parties and public associations, entrepreneurs, people's deputies, and representatives from federation components and federal bodies of authority—have submitted more than 5,000 remarks and proposals to the Constitutional Conference, every one of which was taken into consideration. The draft constitution has been significantly enriched by the inclusion in it of everything valuable worked out by the Constitutional Commission and contained in the commission's draft.

Following discussion of all the materials and recommendations, the Constitutional Conference participants have included more than 500 amendments to the original draft proposed on 5 June. All these amendments were analyzed by a working commission, and, having altered more than 200 provisions, the commission corrected 130 articles in the draft. Additionally some 40 or so fundamentally new principles were introduced. In especially complex cases, when it was necessary to refrain from political partialities and adopt an exclusively legal decision, a constitutional arbitration commission went to work. The draft was also subjected to international expert analysis, notably by the European Commission for Democracy Through Law. In general the assessment given was positive, and the wishes expressed were also taken into consideration. Amendments were introduced into virtually every article of the original text. All the previously existing versions and interpretations have been coordinated and drawn together into a single document. The draft for a new Russian Federation constitution is ready, and today we can register this.

Quite recently here in Russia and abroad many doubts were creeping in about the viability of democracy in Russia and whether its newborn institutions were in a condition to work normally one with another. As a result of its work the Constitutional Conference has dispersed those doubts. In essence the Constitutional Conference is a fairly exact model of our political system. Working in one group were representatives of all federal organs of authority; in another the components of the federation; in a third, members of local government. The newly emerging multi-party systems were reflected in a fourth group, and finally in a fifth group the entrepreneurs and commodity producers showed themselves in the mold of the economic system of society. Contrary to skeptical forecasts, this model worked constructively.

The draft composed by the Constitutional Conference clearly boils down to this: Russian public opinion has rejected the formula of war, of everyone against everyone else. The potential of political responsibility has been clearly expressed. This is, if you like, the main political result of the Constitutional Conference. In no way is this a victory or a defeat, but rather a unification of forces. I am glad that productive work was carried out at this conference by members and a number of leaders of the Supreme Soviet, many people's deputies of the Russian Federation and members of the Constitutional Commission. I see in this reassuring signs of a renewal of constructive cooperation between the branches of power.

The businesslike participation of many deputies in the Constitutional Conference bears witness to the fact that today the draft constitution has stopped being either presidential or parliamentary. There are full grounds for saying that the pluralism of the draft has become a draft of accord. Now this is a single draft as a result of joint work.

Our conference has gained in political authority from the active participation in it by representatives of the components of the Russian Federation.

It is not a secret that the issue relating to the components of the Russian Federation and their rights and powers is a stumbling block in building a new Russian state system. Many lances have been broken over this during the Constitutional conference. I think that the draft constitution succeeds in achieving a solution to this problem, which is the best possible to date. The only issue which has not been solved in practice so far is connected with the economic advantages of the republican status, which still exist. This is what is pushing krays and oblasts toward upgrading their status and unilaterally declaring themselves republics.

The task here is to avoid succumbing to the temptation of regional republicanization, and to remove the inequalities, especially in taxation and allocation of finance. The new trend in tension both between components of the federation and between them and the federal authorities represents a danger. Attempts to change the traditional existing formation of the state overnight could destroy the still fragile island that is the Russian Federation.

I have to comment on the recent decisions by the Vologda and Sverdlovsk oblast soviets. I think it essential that everyone, including oblast and kray leaders, show extreme caution when reaching decisions that have an impact on the structure of the federation. Let us say this straight: Republican status is first and foremost a way of taking into account the interests of the peoples or ethnic groups after whom the republics are named. I stress that this is an extremely delicate issue. After all, each of these peoples is a minority in the vast expanses of Russia. Republican status allows, for example, the establishment of a second state language alongside the state language of Russia, and republican citizenship. These are all internationally recognized ways of building a democratic federation.

Some say that the Constitutional Conference initiated the process of republicanization; they cite also the economic privileges that in the opinion of many are linked to republican status. But let us dot all the i's. Our trouble is that, having concluded a federation treaty, we have not created a mechanism for its implementation. This omission must be immediately and legally removed.

According to the draft of the new constitution, the republics, oblasts, and krays have full equality in the economic sphere. They may have some questions or complaints regarding the current work of the government. Well, let's discuss these matters—they were discussed today, and last time they were discussed, but first of all let us remove them from the framework of the constitutional process. The draft of the new constitution makes no mention whatsoever of any economic privileges. So what are the disputes about? What are these special rights? Do the people of the Urals [of Sverdlovsk oblast], for example, really want to establish yet another state language besides Russian?

Clearly the decisions of the Sverdlovsk and Vologda oblasts were hasty. We all bear responsibility for the integrity of Russia. That is something that no one should ever risk. The building of a genuine and just federation cannot be done in an instant. We are just beginning a multi-stage process of which the Federation Treaty and now the new Constitution are only the first steps. Ahead lie many disputes over the nature of our federation, over the status of its components, and the balance of powers. We will hope that no one will be able to say of our future constitution that Moscow forced its own model on the republics, krays, and oblasts. The constitution of a federal state should be created by federal methods. That is where the guarantee of its viability lies. The strength of the Constitution of the United States lies above all in the fact that it was brought into being by the American states themselves. It became a document which consolidated their agreement to live in a united federal state. The same is the case with the German Constitution. It was adopted by a parliamentary council consisting of representatives of the German lands and it was the parliaments of these lands which ratified the fundamental law.

I would like to speak in particular about the work of the group of political parties, public figures, trade unions, organizations, and religious confessions. The representatives of the various political forces demonstrated their ability to act smoothly and productively on the basis of compromise. Only this basis of compromise guarantees stability in society and serves as a guarantee that a civilized law will be worked out. The work of this group demonstrates how badly we need a parliament formed on the basis of clear party and not personal election programs. We need a professional parliament made up of representatives of real political forces who possess a level of responsibility fundamentally different from today's and a fundamentally different potential for upholding the mandate of trust given to them.

Common sense has prevailed at the Constitutional Conference. In the interests of Russia and its peoples it should also prevail in other audiences. Those who wished to have real influence on the future state structure of the Russian Federation and contribute their vision of the future political and economic system have done so. But that small part of the opposition which has preferred to distance itself from the conference has actually removed itself from forming the Constitution. Its self-isolation does not serve the good of public accord, the good of Russia. One has to presume that those who have removed themselves from resolving the most sensitive and complicated constitutional issues are simply not capable of assuming the burden of state work.

A modern Russian society and state now bears the stamp of a transitional period. We have already many times heard that a constitution cannot be created in such times, in a crisis of statehood. We must wait patiently, we are told, until relations within society crystallize and acquire clarity, and then enshrine them with the help of constitutional methods. These objections deserve attention, but it is difficult to recognize them as profound. In many countries successful constitutions were adopted precisely during transitional or even revolutionary times. Their authors were probably advised to wait for the situation to clear, but common sense and experience show one thing: the Constitution itself should become a factor for stabilization. How many conflicts would it have been possible to avert had we had clearly coordinated rules for a transition from the previous system to the new one? But it so happened that we changed the rules on the move, constantly making amendments to the existing Constitution. We not only found ways out of difficult situations, but also created new conflicts and blind alleys. This is what happened with the notorious article 104 of the current Constitution.

This practice has affected the economy especially severely. It is clear today that the continued pursuit of economic reform would be simply impossible without a thorough solution to our constitutional problems, impossible as a matter of principle. No single country in the world is capable of making radical transformations in the economy without political stability, when there is no firm statehood or an independent judiciary, and when the very foundations of a market economy have not been defined in the constitution.

I can assure you that this draft constitution resolves these problems. It creates the necessary favorable preconditions for the successful implementation of economic reform. What is the most important point here? The constitution guarantees political stability in society. It ensures steady work in the system of democratic power. Each branch concerns itself with its own affairs, while the president guarantees coordinated work and cooperation by state bodies. This will undoubtedly be the basis for calm, forward- looking economic transformations and create a most important precondition for the market—the confidence to engage in enterprise, the dependability of investment, and the protection of earnings. The constitution, under the draft which has been drawn up, rules out arbitrary, administrative interference in economic activity, in enterprise, and in market relations.

Freedom of economic activity is laid down as one of the main economic principles in the constitution. It can have only one foundation: the constitution, the law, and justice. The constitution defines the pillars supporting the market, active economic operations, initiative and free enterprise throughout the federation. The constitution gives equal recognition and protection to all forms of ownership. The right to private property is enshrined as a natural human right. This provision is of fundamental importance. It means that the right of ownership, including the right to own land, is not conferred by the state or granted by officials: it is something which the individual enjoys from birth. Every individual and every person engaged in economic management in Russia receives a firm foundation for active, entrepreneurial economic operations, protected against the arbitrary whims of officials.

The constitution guarantees people the proper level of social protection and ensures support for families, children, the disabled, and the elderly. It lays down a system of social services, state pensions, grants, and other guarantees of social security, as well as the right to protection against unemployment. The constitution stipulates here that pensions, social payments and social assistance must provide a standard of living no lower than the minimum subsistence level specified by law.

We must not give up for lost all the useful things which have been done before. All the sensible and realistic things within the system of the former social guarantees should be preserved and expanded. However, for the purpose of the state having resources for social protection, the constitution secures such an economic system which provides for higher efficiency of production. Constitutional problems brought to the fore by the transitional epoch are already being resolved in a more objective and fruitful way at the conference than was done by searching at random, which was characteristic of previous years.

Today not just politics and the economy are being transformed, but the legal system as well. Here, at the Constitutional conference, Russia is working out rules for its future behavior in order to follow them strictly in its future life. They should start working immediately after the adoption of the constitution as they have great legal stability.

The essence of the transitional stage and the entire strategic scheme lies in the fact that a man, who is free from the economic and political points of view, should become the main asset.

Our peasants are interested in a new democratic constitution. Without securing the right to private ownership of land in the constitution, their initiative cannot be unleashed, and the countryside cannot be set free. The working class, deprived of ownership for decades, needs a new constitution. The intelligentsia needs a new constitution. Science, education, public health, and culture—all of them need more favorable terms. They cannot be rid of their humiliating status of permanent beggars, without the democratic restructuring of society.

A new democratic constitution is needed by Russian entrepreneurs who are coming into being. The draft of the constitution is called upon to encourage the drive and initiative of business people. It will be a legal support for the growth of their civilization and professionalism.

Multinational Russia needs the constitution. The equality of all the nations should be based on law. For years and decades we were trained not to make a move without the center. Moscow must decide for everyone. The new constitution will put an end to this.

The main thing is that the Russian citizen needs the constitution. He is tired of living under the power of persons and not laws. He has chosen the path of dignity and freedom. This is the wish of Russian people and it should be granted.

Esteemed participants in the conference: [Words indistinct] draft constitution submitted after further work and coordination. In the final draft there is a new chapter: "Foundations of a Constitutional System." The chapter "Rights and Freedoms of the Individual and of the Citizen" has been substantially improved and now contains virtually nothing that gives rise to objections. The chapter "The Russian Federation" enshrines the possibilities of development of the federation and of the subjects which form part of it. It is laid down that federal law determines not the tax system as a whole, but only the system of federal taxes and the general principles of taxation. The chapters on the federal bodies of power, the president, the federal assembly, the government, and judicial power establish in a more balanced form the system of checks and counterbalances. That system is needed to defend the democratic system and ensure the progress of reform. It is sufficient to guarantee society against the arbitrary use of power.

Of great importance is the chapter on local self-government. Its norms provide strict guarantees against interference in local affairs by the higher echelons of power. They create the legal conditions for the development of self-organization by citizens.

The agreed draft drawn up by the conference brings us back to the best periods of the three years' work on the text of our future constitution. Let me remind you that the mechanism for the preparation of Russia's new constitution was officially set in motion just three years ago. Since then, painstaking work on the text began. In that time, there have been both dark and bright patches in our country's political destiny; there have been achievements and successes of our young democracy, but also error and illusion. Each stage of the constitutional process has had its own character and is memorable in its own way. I recall the end of 1990 and the beginning of 1991, when the idea of a purely parliamentary Russian republic was being discussed. A version of the draft appropriate to that idea came into being; but already at that time most of the experts and members of the Constitutional Commission and Supreme Soviet deputies had come to the conclusion that the government should be responsible not only to parliament, but also to a president elected by all the people. The results of that first stage of that discussion were summed up by the all-Russian referendum held in March 1991, which introduced the presidency. The next stage of our constitutional process is the deepening and development of the previously elaborated ideas and principles in conditions of relative harmony and mutual understanding between the branches of Russian power.

This accord possibly embodied the main feature of that period. A whole number of extremely successful solutions was found, concerning division of functions between the two chambers of parliament, and the relationship between the president and the chairman of the government.

Then a rule on the terms on which the president can dissolve parliament early was included into the draft constitution. The idea most of all was that there should be no blind alleys in the political process, so that ministers and parliamentarians are aware of their responsibility to each other.

This was when the idea of a federation treaty was born. A year later, it was put into effect. Unfortunately, from a certain stage the internal political struggle began to exert a more negative influence on preparation of the draft. The slowing-down and then de facto halt of this work should not be mistaken for a weakness in Russian constitutional thought. It was the result of confrontational politics. Let us hope that this is now receding into the past.

The draft prepared by the Constitutional Conference incorporates all the preceding experience. It is now essential that the components of the federation express their attitude toward it, be it positive in the form of deeds of adoption, or be it in the form of clauses that they think should be changed or clarified. Given the absence in the existing Russian Federation Constitution of a procedure for the adoption of a new constitution, the next phase of the conference should adopt a document containing just that procedure. Legitimate methods of adopting a constitution should of course be applied.

Another problem in the next few months is the election of a new federal parliament. Strictly speaking, this problem is divided into three: what the electoral law should be like, who should adopt it, and for what term the representatives to this parliament should be elected.

What should the law be like? I don't want to commit myself and you now to a particular point of view or to impose on you a specific model for the electoral system, especially as the majority, proportional, and mixed systems all have their pros and cons. In addition, we must not evaluate these systems in an abstract manner without taking account of Russia's historical, political, and national traditions. All that I can say is this: we need a new electoral law, on the basis of which early elections to the federal parliament will be held.

First, it should encourage the emergence of big political parties and the emergence and development of political positions and interests. Second, it should promote the formation of a parliament in which the most authoritative political forces will truly be represented.

Who should adopt the electoral law? We have a legislative body, the Supreme Soviet. I hope it will not decide to ignore the initiatives of the Constitutional Conference, but if that happens we shall ask the republica and regions making up the federation to make proposals on the procedure for the adoption of the electoral law.

Finally, to the term of office of the future parliament. For transition periods when the situation is changing particularly rapidly it is wholly logical that such terms should be shortened. In that way the representative bodies do not lose their association with the mass of the electorate and retain their capability to reflect the dominant trends in the country. At the same time, however, too short a term will deprive the Russian parliament of the opportunity to acquire the necessary professionalism, and in the presence of a powerful executive parliament will be unable to pose a sufficient counterweight to it. For this reason a special discussion on the length of parliamentary terms for the transitional period is needed and a solution to this issue has to be found.

As things stand today the Constitutional Conference possesses the most powerful representative potential. Its decisions, though they lack formal force, nevertheless carry undisputed authority, and that is something that has to be acknowledged. In a law-based state any citizen can, through his representatives, play a part in composing the state document known as the constitution. In that sense, all involved in the Constitutional Conference are beyond doubt playing a historic role, acting as an advisory representative body. One might take issue with this, pointing out that from a purely juridical point of view an advisory right is not actually a right at all, for it does not limit, for instance, the plenipotentiary powers of the congress. That is so. An advisory right, however, can exist alongside and in addition to the powers of official bodies of authority, and without either countermanding or supplanting them.

I believe that there is something to be said here about the consultative factor, because it is precisely in that context and in such a quality that civil society and all its groups and currents are entitled to assist the structures of authority to overcome political contradictions. The history of Russia is replete with examples in which advisory bodies brought their influence to bear on the formal authorities, enriching and refining their ideas of political realities. It is sufficient to recall the Zemskiye Sobory [Assemblies of the Land in Muscovite Russia in 16th-17th centuries]. At the most difficult and crucial moments, they outgrew their consultative functions. For example, the Sobor of 1649 took a very active part in compiling the Ulozheniye, a code of laws of the Russian state of that time.

Today, neither the congress, the Supreme Soviet, nor the other centers of power can ignore the Constitutional Conference, its activity, and its opinion, all the more so because this institution arose here as a natural development.

I am saying all this in order to put forward concrete examples and to make the Constitutional Conference one which is permanently functioning.

This does not mean that all its participants will have to go to the Kremlin as if going to work. It particularly does not mean the creation of yet another body of authority. What is under discussion is not a state institution but an institution of civic society. It should be a kind of social filter for constitutional initiatives emanating both from above and from below.

A permanently functioning Constitutional Conference can at the same time become a form of conducting dialogue between representatives of power structures and public structures. Of course, in order to achieve this it will be necessary to change somewhat the structure of the Conference. For example, it would be natural to combine the groups of parties, movements, manufacturers, and local self-government representatives. Thus, we would form a kind of public chamber. Its participants could themselves compare and coordinate their own interests and, at the same time, could enter an informal dialogue with the federal and regional authorities.

It would be foolish to regard the representatives of state bodies simply as a party to a dialogue with the public. For example, the group of representatives of components of the federation are drafting a bill on the implementation of the Federation Treaty. A mechanism for coordinating territorial interests does exist and it would be a shame to waste this. Despite the great value and effectiveness of the system of division of powers, the opportunity for direct contact between representatives of various branches of federal power should hardly be ignored. This opportunity emerged at our conference. Let us not waste it.

At the same time, the main task for a permanent constitutional conference will be the continuation of the constitutional process, naturally within a framework which does not affect the prerogatives of state power.

Esteemed participants in the Constitutional Conference: The new Russia needs a new constitution. We assembled in order to draw up an agreed draft and we have drawn it up. We have found agreement because we strove for the rightful ascendency of truth and for the establishment of justice and duty, and not because we attempted to make sure an initiative of a particular branch of power was preferred. We acted in an open fashion and now the fruits of our efforts can undergo close scrutiny by everyone who wishes to do so. Moreover, we call on all those whose civil duty requires them personally to create a constitutional foundation for the Russian Federation, and all those who are interested, including the press, to get involved in a discussion of the draft and help our country to obtain a new and fitting constitution. I hope that those who have assembled at the conference of representatives of all federal bodies of power, components of the federation, political parties, other associations, and citizens have sufficient potential to reveal a common, agreed interest. We are on the correct path. I am sure our activity will be for the good of Russia, the citizens of Russia, and for present and future generations. I thank all conference participants for their work. I thank all those who helped us and supported us. Thank you.

Issues Statement on New Constitution

LD1207142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1320 GMT 12 Jul 93

["Text" of 12 July statement by President Boris Yeltsin on the preliminary outcome of the Constitutional Conference]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—Following the close of today's sitting of the Constitutional Conference, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin issued a statement on the preliminary outcome of the conference. Here is the text, which was released by the president's press service:

Dear fellow citizens: The participants in the Constitutional Conference have approved a finalized and agreed text of a draft constitution of the Russian Federation. I appeal to you to support this draft.

This draft constitution is the result of intensive creative labor by many people representing various sections of our society, the constituent parts of our federation, the federal legislative, executive, and judicial authorities, a broad spectrum of political positions and views, and recognized schools of scientific thought. It pools the best clauses of the draft constitution submitted by the Russian Federation president, of the draft on which the Constitutional Commission of the Congress of People's Deputies worked, and of a number of other documents.

The draft for a new constitution approved by the conference reflects ideas, specific proposals, and comments advanced during the conference by representatives of the constituent parts of the federation and local authority bodies. It takes account of the numerous proposals and amendments made by representatives of political parties and public organizations, trades and arts unions, and organizations of entrepreneurs and commodity producers.

Proposals and comments from people's deputies, members of the Russian Supreme Soviet and its Constitutional Commission, representatives of the president and of the government, justices of the Constitutional Court and of the other supreme judicial bodies of the Russian Federation, and from leading legal experts were accepted and considered. Finally, thousands of suggestions sent to the conference by individual Russian citizens were analyzed, and by taking many of them into account the content of the draft was greatly enriched.

The draft for a new constitution represents the fullest and most comprehensive implementation of the fundamental constitutional principles of a truly democratic and law-based federal state in which the supreme value is the individual, and the dignity, rights, and freedoms of the individual. It consolidates the equality of all before the law and the courts, protects the rights of ownership and of property owners, and creates a firm foundation for effective economic activity and the social protection of needy groups of the population. In this way it creates the conditions to ensure a high degree of well-being for the peoples of the Russian Federation.

The structure of state authority envisaged by the draft ensures genuine democracy, federalism, and supremacy of law and legality. It provides a guarantee against the usurpation of authority and loss of control over the implementation of the functions of authority.

Today it is clear to all people with common sense and a real understanding of the situation in Russia that it is hopeless, and even dangerous, to maintain the present state system. It is just as clear that a new constitution must be adopted. The draft being proposed meets the requirements for the creation and development of a free and flourishing power—the Russia of the 21st century.

That is why I submit this draft for the approval of the subjects of the federation with the feeling of a duty fulfilled and with the hope that, when discussing and assessing it, maturity and wisdom will be displayed, so that current or group interests are not allowed to prevail over the interests of the future of our country—the country of our grandfathers and fathers and the motherland of our children and grandchildren.

"It is necessary to understand and remember that our constitution is not an instrument of political struggle. By restricting all the branches of power and powerful structures in the interests of a person, the new constitution will become a guarantee for the peaceful development of political, economic, and social processes.

Dear compatriots, I believe in your reason and responsibility, your aspiration for change, your realism, and, of course, in your love for Russia. I believe also in the Russians' long-standing desire to see their country as a free and strong state. That is why, by calling upon you to give your support to the draft of the first truly democratic constitution of the Russian Federation, I think I have reason to hope for it.

Taking into account the federal structure of Russia and aware that the viability of a new constitution for the Russian Federation depends to a considerable extent on the acceptance of its clauses by the entities making up the Russian Federation, I propose to the elected state authorities of the republics within the Russian Federation, of the krays, oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and of the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, that they examine the draft constitution of the Russian Federation prepared by the conference and forward their decisions on it to the president of the Russian Federation and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

The formation of a federal state cannot be a one-off act. At the same time, the current condition of federal authority contains within itself serious dangers, not only for the federation as a whole, but also for each of its components. Only within the framework of a new and democratic constitution of the Russian Federation is it possible to wisely and justly resolve all issues of how to construct the state, including those issues concerning the members of the federation.

This is why I hope that short-termism and parochialism will not prevail over strategic and profound interests, which if put into effect will ensure the well-being of all the peoples and every person of Russia.

Appeal to the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation:

Mindful of the need to create a solid legal footing for democratic statehood to develop in Russia, and guided by a sincere desire for civic peace and accord, I appeal to all people's deputies of the Russian Federation and to their groups and factions to adopt the draft constitution of the Russian Federation prepared by the conference and examined by the constituent parts of the Russian Federation.

The convocation of the Constitutional Conference was governed by the logic of the political process in Russia, and this appeal is governed by the logic of the legal process.

Accord is essential to maintain the unity of the state and put an end to debilitating political confrontation. However, the world knows of no universal recipe to achieve this. Each country at critical times in its destiny finds its own way of combining existing legal norms and its nascent legal order. The main aim is to avert violence, which inevitably begets violence.

Adoption of the constitution is the paramount condition of a peaceful transition to a new statehood.

Russia was deprived of such an opportunity at the beginning of the century. The terrible experience of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions and their catastrophic consequences for this country and the world should serve as a reminder to all honest politicians of their sacred duty not to allow anything similar to happen now, on the eve of the 21st century.

Calling upon you at this vital juncture to perform with dignity and honor the truly historic role that has befallen you—to adopt the first truly democratic constitution in the history of our state—I and millions of people in Russia hope that you will be true to this role and thus be worthy of the gratitude of the current and future generations of free Russian citizens.

On the need to adopt a law on elections to the federal assembly of the Russian Federation:

The working out of new principles for the formation of the federal body of legislative authority is an inalienable part of the present stage of the constitutional process in Russia. The essence of the new elections to the Russian parliament can be seen not in replacing the existing body of people's deputies of the Russian Federation, but in fundamental altering the political and legal foundations of the supreme legislative body's activity. By being elected in the new way, it should fully meet the democratic standards which have been tested by world practice, and at the same time correspond to Russian conditions.

The people need a law on elections to the federal assembly of the Russian Federation in order to form a Russian parliament:

- coordinating the interests of various layers of society and major groups of the population through a mechanism for their real representation by political parties and movements;

- reflecting the federative structure of Russia, which presupposes the territorial nature of the mandates of those who will be elected to the soviet of the federation;

- whose deputies combine adherence to different political movements and programs with a high levels of professionalism and responsibility.

The new law on elections and its implementation in present-day conditions should help build a stable political system in Russia, strengthen the federation, raise the level of civil consciousness in the people of Russia, and help form large and stable political parties and blocs.

Without giving preference in advance to any draft of the new electoral law, the Constitutional Conference is expected to study as soon as possible all the drafts of the law on elections to the Russian Federation federal assembly submitted to it, and prepare an agreed version. After this I will be ready to submit a relevant legislative initiative.

If the legislators try to stall the preparation for a parliamentary election, other ways of adopting the act on elections will have to be sought.

On the future work of the Constitutional Conference:

Because of the complexity of the constitutional law problems facing Russian society, and because of the need to coordinate various political positions and approaches toward resolving economic and social problems, and also taking into account the positive experience accumulated during the work of the Constitutional Conference, it is appropriate to continue the work of the Constitutional Conference in August of this year with the following immediate tasks in mind:

1. To draw up a procedure for adopting the new Russian constitution;

2. To prepare a draft law on elections to a federal parliament.

In order to raise the effectiveness of the Constitutional Conference, its structure must be adjusted and organizational and logistic support for it must be improved, with account taken of suggestions and comments made by participants in the conference. In addition, a standardized method of publishing its materials must be put into place.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow; 12 July 1993

Says Satisfied With Conference

PM1207181793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 93 p 1

[Interview with President Yeltsin by Boris Slavin, editor of the PRAVDA Political Science Desk, in Moscow on 12 July: "Boris Yeltsin: Course of Consensus"]

[Text] The participants in the Constitutional Conference have put their memorable signatures to the adopted draft constitution—433 people voted in favor, 62 voted against, and 63 abstained. It is planned to subsequently refer the draft constitution for discussion by Federation components. The Constitutional Conference has ended the first phase of its work. The president's speech raised the idea of turning the Constitutional Conference into a standing social organ.

After the Constitutional Conference closed Boris Yeltsin gave an interview to Boris Slavin, editor of the Political Science Desk.

[Slavin] Boris Nikolayevich, are you satisfied with the results of the Constitutional Conference?

[Yeltsin] Yes. I believe that the Constitutional Conference has fulfilled the first phase of its mission. It has elaborated a draft new constitution. This draft will subsequently be discussed by Federation components.

[Slavin] You said in your report that you would like to put a stop to the warring of all and sundry against each other. Is this idea, which was voiced at the end of the conference, to be your new program, contrary to what was the case at the start of the conference?

[Yeltsin] Yes. I reiterated it today and I think that everyone is gradually coming around to it.

[Slavin] Are we to understand that you are again geared toward consensus rather than confrontation among political forces?

[Yeltsin] Consensus, undoubtedly. [Yeltsin ends]

What can be said in connection with this interview? Only one thing: Let us hope that at least this time the Russian president's words come to pass. And that what happened this March does not happen again. Similar statements made to PRAVDA were followed at the time by the famous TV appearance, which was described by the Constitutional Court as a coup attempt.

Chernomyrdin: Constitution 'Must Be Shown to the People'

LD1207134193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1305 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jul—The new draft constitution "has turned out well, but it must be shown to the people." This is the view of Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. People must know what has been worked out at the Constitutional Conference so that they can express their attitude to the document, he told an ITAR-TASS correspondent after putting his signature under the document. "The main thing is that all the laws, decrees, and resolutions being adopted should be implemented," the prime minister believes. "When we learn to do this, then it will be a real state." "In principle, we have included all opinions in the new draft," stressed Chernomyrdin, himself a participant in the Constitutional Conference.

Shakhray, Others View Constitution, Congress

LD1207172593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1522 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jul—The new text of the draft constitution "is stronger than the initial versions, both the presidential and the constitutional commission's," Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray believes. "The main thing is that now there is one coordinated draft," he told the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

In Sergey Shakhray's view, the virtue of the new text is that "it provides a good juridical reflection of the degree of political consensus." The constitution "is the result of a process of political compromise." In his words, the draft enshrines "the absolute equality of members [subyekty] of the federation." He is sure that although "certain people want to use the issue of the federal system to settle their own disagreements—and politics unfortunately gets mixed up with this—this tendency can be overcome."

The Congress of People's Deputies "will be held sooner or later, but there is no certainty that the body of deputies will be able to adopt the constitution," Shakhray believes. However, "this stage has to be gone through."

Mikhail Mityukov, member of the Supreme Soviet, called for the Congress of People's Deputies to be convened. "The conditions are right" for discussion of the new draft constitution, he told the ITAR-TASS correspondent. In his view, the forum needs to be held at the end of July rather than in the autumn. In a month "much water could flow under the bridge and countermeasures of some kind could be taken against the draft's adoption," he surmised. In his view, the difficulty is simply a technical one of convening it in such a short time. However, asked whether the congress would be able to adopt the constitution, he replied: "One would have to be a prophet."

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for International Affairs, expressed a positive attitude toward convening the congress. If a consensus could be reached, this would be the optimum result, he said. Lev Ponomarev, one of the leaders of the parliamentary reform coalition, reported that democrat deputies plan to convene the congress on 30 July and are collecting signatures for this decision.

Officials Comment on Draft Constitution

LD1207172793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Jul 93

["Excerpts" from interviews with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin; Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray; Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin; Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of council of ministers; in lobby of Kremlin following constitutional conference; and Sergey Filatov, chief of the president's staff, in the conference hall; with unidentified correspondent; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Chernomyrdin] At long last a document has appeared that we can show to our people. People should judge it and see what is good about it and what is not. Maybe people will add something. If that is the case, it will be necessary to have it included.

[Shakhray] The minimum task—it is precisely the minimum task that has been carried out. We do have a single text, a draft. Now it is necessary to make this draft public, to send it to the authorities of the members of the Russian Federation and to make it available to the Supreme Soviet without fail, so that in some time it is going to be possible to collate it once and for all and submit it for ratification.

[Zorkin] The citizens of Russia will forgive me for taking part in this conference; I am doing it in order to facilitate national consensus.

[Shumeyko] It is simply that we ourselves are no longer able to live like this, without a constitution. It is, at long last, necessary to adopt this new text and to set about fulfilling the laws in our state starting with this text, having adopted altogether new methods of working.

[Filatov] We must adopt a new Constitution, in order to assuage our own public opinion and to assuage the foreign public opinion, because it is already very difficult to live with the fear of what the existing constitution allows to be done currently. If we put behind us the existing constitution which, in fact, makes it possible to carry out a constitutional coup in its worst form, so to put it, and if we put behind us this fear of all this, then, it seems to me, it will in future be easier to tackle all these processes.

Zorkin Votes in Favor of Draft Constitution

LD1207170693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1535 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—Russian chief constitutional justice Valeriy Zorkin voted for the approval of the draft constitution on Monday, while representative of the major Russian diamond producing republic of Sakha (Yakutia) opposed the document.

Zorkin told reporters he agreed with "the main trends of the document because it is a way to national accord, a way through the constitution to a new Russian future".

"I acted to promote national accord", he said adding that the draft constitution is to be adopted and abided by. "It is possible to write thousands of good documents which will be shelved. This cannot be allowed", he warned.

Yegor Lariyonov, deputy parliament speaker of Sakha voted against the draft as it fixes that federal laws dominate republican ones.

Another reason was that the Russian parliament did not authorise the assembly to vote. "We can only raise the issue of submitting the draft for the consideration of subjects of the federation", he said, adding that the vote was an attempt to turn the assembly into a legislative body. "This is wrong", Lariyonov said.

The leader of another Russian republic abstained from voting. Viktor Stepanov, the chairman of the parliament of Karelia in the Russian European north, told TASS that although the draft is acceptable for him it needs further improvement. However, he welcomed the "spirit of constructiveness" at the assembly saying that without "contrapposition and pressure we can always work out an acceptable draft constitution."

A representative of the centrist "Civic Union" bloc voted against the draft for two reasons. Vladimir Stolypin opposed unequal rights of republics and other subjects of the federation and "extremely unbalanced powers of the executive and parliamentary authorities".

Stolypin told TASS that he had contacted many representatives of Russian regions and warned that they would not approve the draft.

New Version of Draft Constitution Viewed

MK1007101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report under "Russia" rubric: "President Insists on Having His Way. What Constitutional Conference Participants Will Be Discussing"]

[Text] On 12 July yet another and, as many would like to hope, the last plenary session of the constitutional conference will open. However, its mastermind and leader, President Yeltsin, does not seem to think so any longer: He recently spoke about "several subsequent stages" of the Kremlin convention.

According to preliminary reports and cautious statements by Sergey Filatov, the constitutional conference along with what has become a routine procedure—the consideration of updated draft constitutions—might get down to some more interesting things: receive and assess the main provisions of a draft law on parliamentary elections, and also, possibly, a draft law on procedures for adopting and enacting a new constitution.

Given that the main aim of the tempestuous constitutional process of the last three months is considered by its initiators (just recently this was stated openly) as the abolition, as far as possible by legitimate methods, of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, the latter two documents are even more important than the fundamental law itself. True, the probability of this, that, or a third draft law's being enacted is very relative, if one recalls the Russian parliament's attitude to the constitutional conference activity.

At present, however, the declared main task of the constitutional conference is to work out a maximally coordinated draft fundamental law. A week ago, on 2 and 3 July, the constitutional conference working group considered the amendments made during the discussion of a draft presented at the 26 June plenary session. The resultant new draft version, dated 7 July, underwent the most substantial changes insofar as the powers of the Federation Assembly are concerned, as well as the interrelations between the federal and regional authorities. As is known, these questions are among the most contentious. Also, a few changes have been introduced into the mechanism of passing amendments and changes in the constitution.

What are these changes? For example, in Article 5, the provision that "the republic is a sovereign state within the Russian Federation" has been supplemented by the phrase that "a republic's exercise of its sovereign rights may not contradict the Russian Federation constitution." The 7 July draft also has an additional article, No. 65-1, which records that specifics of the status of particular components of the Russian Federation, in accordance with the Russian Federation Constitution and the statute of a corresponding component, may be established by treaties on the demarcation of jurisdictions. Importantly, the fundamentals of the constitutional system and the rights of other components may not be infringed. After the enumeration of the Federation's exclusive powers and its joint jurisdiction with the components, an article was written which limits the powers of the central authority in the area of joint jurisdiction, presumably because in current legislative practice it is in this sphere that the components' rights are violated the most often. The regional authorities' right to exercise their own legal regulation within their jurisdiction, including the passage of laws, has been confirmed.

The chapter on the president has been left virtually without any substantial changes; some amendments have been made in those articles that describe relations between the president and parliament. An article that disappeared from the 26 June draft, however, has reemerged—on the president's "using conciliatory procedures" to resolve disputes between power bodies at different levels, and also on suspending the effects of acts by executive power bodies of the Russian Federation when they contradict the Federal Constitution or violate human rights.

Under the 7 July draft, just like in the 26 June draft, the Federal Assembly is denied the right to hold joint sessions of the chambers and adopt any acts. The principle of forming the Federation Council is two representatives from each Russian Federation component. It is recorded that the State Duma consists of 400 deputies (this figure, however, has been marked by an asterisk showing that it has not been finally coordinated yet). Deputies of the State Duma are elected in territorial constituencies. Both chambers, like the president, are elected to four-year terms. The election law will be submitted on 12 July together with a draft constitution, and the latter does not say anything about the election system and other electoral niceties.

The new version again provides for expanded powers of the Federation Council. Again it has been granted the right to appoint on presentation by the president justices of the Constitutional, the Supreme, and the High Arbitration Courts, as well as the general prosecutor. The State Duma has retained its function to appoint a prime minister proposed by the president and to decide on questions of confidence in and resignation of the government. The State Duma has also been granted the right to appoint and dismiss the Central Bank chairman whose candidacy, again, is presented by the president. The lower chamber has the power to appoint and dismiss the human rights commissioner (borrowed from the draft by the constitutional commission). In forming the special accounting chamber to oversee the execution of the federal budget, the State Duma appoints its chairman and half the members, while the other half and the deputy chairman are approved by the Federation Council.

The impeachment procedure has retained the provision on a two- thirds vote of the State Duma, which initiates it, and also the same number of votes in the Federation Council, which approves it. It is provided that in between these two actions not more than three months may elapse.

Only the State Duma may be subject to dissolution; grounds for this are provided under Articles 107 and 112. The first article describes the presentation of the candidacy of a prime minister, which may be proposed three times, while the same candidate may be proposed only twice. There have been no changes in the procedure for the dissolution of the State Duma. Another possibility for dissolving the lower chamber appears after it has given a vote of no confidence in the government two times during a three-month period. This article—Article 112—has undergone only some editing.

A very interesting addition has appeared in Article 121 (the chapter "The Judicial Branch") bearing on the number of justices on the Constitutional Court. Its composition is set at 18 members. Therefore the president (currently Boris Yeltsin) will add five people to the Constitutional Court which apparently will finally enshrine a pro-presidential majority there.

A fairly substantial addition has appeared in the chapter on mechanisms for introducing amendments to the constitution. The provision on the appearance of the constitutional conference in the event that each of the chambers supports by a three-fifths majority vote changes to be introduced in Chapter 1 of the Fundamental Law is supplemented by a mechanism for its formation—"in accordance with procedures and under the quotas as established for electing the Federal Assembly." Section 2 of the Constitution (the texts of the three federation treaties) is adopted by a three-fourths vote of the Federal Council, and two-thirds of the votes in the State Duma, while the other amendments come into effect only after they have been approved by those who have signed any of the three federation treaties. In brief, it is virtually impossible to change any of the norms provided for in the federation treaties. Their texts have been fully incorporated into the constitution, thereby preserving the inequality of different components of the Russian Federation.

This is bound to arouse again the discontent of the krays and oblasts having a lower status, some of which are proclaiming themselves republics or cherishing such hopes. The latter in its turn is causing a negative reaction from the "real" republics. It could be supposed that part of the debate at the 12 July plenary session will be devoted to this issue.

So far there has been no information about the content of the draft law on procedures for adopting a new constitution. It could be assumed, however, that those responsible for its preparation (led by Sergey Filatov) will try to present to the respectable forum legitimate methods of enacting the fundamental law: via the congress, referendum, or maybe a legally formed constitutional assembly. Other methods of adopting the constitution, which could be tentatively termed as "unconstitutional," are not very likely to be proposed to the constitutional conference participants. Signs are that neither would they be presented with proposals on forming the so-called "minor constitution" to be in effect during the transitional period pending new parliamentary elections. As Aleksandr Kotenkov, head of the Main Political Directorate under the president, said, it would be strange to try to push through a constitution and at the same time talk about its being replaced by a temporary act. This official admitted, however, that those in charge did bear that latter idea in mind.

Constitutional Conference To Adopt Constitution

LD1207074593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0629 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—The fourth plenary session of the Russian constitutional assembly will be held in the Kremlin today. President Boris Yeltsin told journalists in Irkutsk that this session will, probably be the last one, but the constitutional assembly will not be dissolved.

According to presidential administration chief Sergey Filatov, the agreed draft constitution is expected to be adopted at today's session of the forum. Participants in sections will be acquainted with it during working Saturday on July 10. In Filatov's opinion, the levelling of the status of subjects of the federation in Article 5 of the document instills hope in the approval of the text, and Article 6 states that rights of republics in comparision with that of territories and regions will differ only in the presence of institutions of citizenship, language and their own constitutions.

However about forty leaders of territories and regions, as before, consider that in the agreed draft economic interests of Russian regions remain infringed, and they have unequal rights in the legislative section and taxation in comparision with republics. This, in particular, explains the proclamation of new republics within Russia by several regions. The July 10 session of subjects of the federation was rather stormy. That is why the unfinished dispute with the centre may not be resolved today.

The proposal on the procedure of adopting the new constitution will also be submitted for consideration of participants in the forum, Sergey Filatov noted on the session's eve.

Filatov Sees Constitutional Assembly as Permanent Body

LD1207132993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1302 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—"The Constitutional Assembly is turning into a permanent body for holding round-table discussions," head of Russian President's Administration Sergey Filatov told ITAR-TASS on Monday.

In his opinion, such a body is needed for considering the most acute, topical economic and political issues.

According to Filatov, the most important thing now is to bring the constitutional process to the end. Subjects of the Russian Federation should consider and discuss the draft constitution.

Their amendments and additions will be taken into account and the final draft constitution will be prepared.

After that, constitution should be adopted at the Congress of People's Deputies, according to Filatov.

Political Issues

Chernomyrdin on Plans for Socioeconomic Conference

LD1207182493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By correspondent L. Panova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At a conference held today with the participation of regional representatives, the government discussed the preparations for a session devoted to the issues of Russia's socioeconomic situation, scheduled for 29 July. In the course of today's session, as Viktor Chernomyrdin emphasized, the government was informed of many acute problems. The main problem—the absence of a standard mechanism for all anti-crisis measures and programs to tally with one another—has not so far been resolved.

[Begin Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin recording] The main thing is that we need results, so that the market is saturated, so that the shops are full, so that the pricing policy is brought into line with the realities of life—that is what we need. We need stabilization. What is needed for this? Specific action on all fronts—not paying lip service, not what we commit to paper as we see fit—but how all this must be done. [end recording]

The expanded session of the government will discuss precisely this aspect. It is expected that Chernomyrdin's Cabinet will present its new anti-crisis program at the session. For the time being, it is planned to hold a number of economic conferences until 29 July. The Ministry of the Economy has been instructed to collate into one single document all the government programs in all areas by the end of 1993 and, subsequently, by the end of 1995 and by the end of the year 2000.

Warns Cabinet of 'Decisive Measures'

LD1207190593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By correspondent Natalya Chernyshova, including recording of remarks by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in Moscow on 12 July; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A conference was held today at the initiative of the government in connection with with preparations for an extended sitting of the Council of Ministers on 29 July. The meeting was devoted to discussion of the socioeconomic situation in Russia. Besides leaders of the central bodies, heads of administration, leaders of autonomous republics, and chairmen of local soviets were present there. In addition to listening to reports by Vice Premiers Fedorov, Chubays, and Yarov, they also managed to question them thoroughly.

Viktor Chernomyrdin delivered a sharp speech at the conference. He said that one should not address all demands to the center. The government cannot solve many issues without the regions, and so far only complaints are coming from them. No one of those gathered here wants to think about a mechanism for implementing decisions, and this is the weakest spot of executive power.

[Chernomyrdin] Don't simply repeat that this is bad, this has been done and this has not been done. How to do it? How to do things today? Why are we lagging behind today? Why are we lagging in financing? Credits are not coming in good time? What will we do? Keep on reproaching each other?

[Chernyshova] That is, you are waiting for a key?

[Chernomyrdin] I am not waiting for a key, but I look for [changes thought], we need to find a solution together.

[Chernyshova] The premier warned the members of his Cabinet of Ministers that he will be taking decisive measures up to and including dismissals for failing to uphold executive discipline and for an arrogant attitude. He also said that the government plans to hold several similar meetings before 29 July.

Government Presidium Meets To Discuss Routine Issues

LD1307062993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0624 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—The Presidium of the Russian Government is meeting in Moscow now to consider a draft federal program for vaccination and prevention of diseases for 1993-1997, the state policy in the field of archives and record keeping, the work of the social insurance ministry and the state non-budgetary funds and some other problems.

Khasbulatov, Rutskoy Meet Intelligentsia 8 Jul

LD1007085593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Meeting between Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, and members of the intelligentsia in Moscow on 8 July; from the "Parliamentary Hour" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Khasbulatov] The Russian Federation vice president and I are glad to welcome you here to the Supreme Soviet. An incomprehensible, completely senseless, and irrational political confrontation can be observed. Of course, in these conditions we are talking about the capability of governing the country—this is probably the most important thing which concerns our society and the most knowledgeable section of it. Therefore I think, in any case I will tell you frankly that our previous meetings [with the intelligentsia] made a very serious impact. Because we live in such a dynamic rhythm, as you know, sometimes unfortunately major issues, topical issues, are left on the sidelines.

For a long time I have been affected by the thoughts that we have shared here. Of course I would like to hear your judgements, your opinions, not only in the sense of how we should work, of how we should exchange our thoughts, but how we should act. On the whole I have in mind some kind of practical aspects. Of course, the Supreme Soviet, I want to inform you, intends, to the extent of its possibilities, not to allow a worsening in the situation in science, culture, and art. These are higher spheres, non-material spheres, within the framework of which we in one way or another live, communicate with each other and with society, and resolve or do not resolve issues.

[Rutskoy] I returned from a working visit literally two days ago. I was in Voronezh, Lipetsk, and Novosibirsk. Novosibirsk was celebrating its 100th anniversary. I met the creative intelligentsia. I had an interesting meeting in Novosibirsk. The situation that is forming today around the whole state, the economy, the economic transformations, the political reforms, the legal reforms, and the wretched situation in society today—I think that some kind of extraordinary measures are needed today.

Why do I say extraordinary measures? Because if one looks at what has happened to us over the past 18 months, it is, by European criteria, a total crisis. Moreover, a moral and spiritual crisis is to be added to all that. This is indicated by the mad growth in crime—because these figures cannot be called otherwise, this wild growth in crime does not yield to reason, and that is why I say it is a mad growth in crime. All this is linked, and I think everyone understands this well, to the moral fall of man, the degradation of man in our society. If one speaks as a whole about reforms, the renewal of the state, then I think that everyone well understands that science, culture, education, and health care cannot be put in second or third place. There are already indicators that the death rate is twice, in certain regions three times, the birth rate and there is growth in crime and the degradation of society. Against that background, the government and the president are proposing to cut budget spending on, I would say, the main elements that foster both spirituality and morality in the individual. One certainly cannot agree with that.

I welcome the initiative of the Supreme Soviet chairman, and the Supreme Soviet as a whole, not to relinquish a single kopeck in the financing of vitally important spheres. Therefore the time is really beginning when we need to unite on the path of a policy of national concord, for further confrontation and politicization of society may lead to unpredictable results. We already have the first calls, that is declarations of sovereignty have begun to actively appear. You know how they began, and they will end in the division of Russia into 60 or 70 apanage principalities. This idea was published and was openly propagated two years ago, and I hope you remember its authors—Gavriil Popov, Starovoytova, and a few others.

Therefore today is really a time when we have to move away from confrontation, searching for enemies, searching for the guilty—we are all guilty to some degree for what is happening to us—and move towards consolidating society. To a great degree all this depends on you. [passage omitted]

[Khasbulatov] Of course, the duping process is going on, there is no doubt about this when there is this urge to achieve a certain political result regardless of the means. When immorality becomes part of political struggle, what does it result in? Duping, of course, with people being reduced to a primitive level and deprived of intellectual powers. Maybe the authors of such mysterious constructions do not make this their precise goal but such are the side effects both in the moral and social sphere. I have never believed that a politician is permitted to be cynical. Regrettably, you and I are observing something quite unique: the moral criteria of admissibility of certain things, of their being ethically correct—what is considered to be admissible here, is inadmissible in the rest of the world—neither in the decent, so to speak, civilized and democratic, nor in the developing world, not on the Latin American continent nor anywhere else. Where society exists, where there are no outright dictatorial regimes suppressing their fellow-citizens by force of arms, where there are no such openly violent regimes, such methods of political struggle which are routinely used here are inadmissible there.

Of course, there is inequality here. Why is that? Because I personally and my comrades-in-arms [soratniki] cannot adopt such methods and means. Therefore we find ourselves so often in a disadvantaged position because the means we use are not adequate to the situation. For me, a law is a law whether it is good or bad. I think if a law is bad then we must fight for another one, but this should be done by legal means only. Yet today totally unlawful methods are being used. What can then be said about borderline areas between the spheres where there is law and where there is none? It is there that this cynicism sets in, and it is being used to overturn our few achievements in the field of democracy and (?freedom).

So indeed it is very difficult for us and I can tell you frankly that we need your help, in spite of the fact that authors are in such a deplorable state as Sergey Vladimirovich was talking about. Indeed we need social support, especially on the part of the enlightened part of our population, and we need intellectual and organizational support. In this sense, Yuriy Vasilyevich, you are absolutely right, we should establish normal control, or I would rather use the word work, organize normal work in our society and on our television—normal work. We do not demand that we should have control or monopoly. We just want television to be a normal means of communication and information—truthful information, objective information. This is first.

Second, it seems to me that television and newspapers have gone downhill as regards their scientific and intellectual potential. Until very recently, I remember and I think you will all agree—one might like it or not but it was interesting when well-known people—authors, scholars, and specialists—would sit down before the television screen and discuss, dispute, or analyze something. But all this has disappeared now. Now it is only swearing that is still there. The same swearing you can read in the press. We should seriously think about fundamentals, about moral issues, economic and political orientation. In one way or another we are building a new society. Some of us are trying to understand the sources of our Fatherland, Russia, which all of us, ethnic people, treated equally.

Others say that cosmopolitanism does not exist. This a very serious thing. There is also the issue of Orthodox Christianity. We are told: take a look at what is going on when talking about Orthodox Christianity—these Western religious trends that have little in common with the Orthodox Church are actually imposing themselves. They are making a special attempt to split Orthodox Christianity. As for Orthodox Christianity, it, as far as I know—I am not a great expert in this matter—has the greatest degree of tolerance toward other religions. Russia is the home of at least two religions—Orthodox Christianity and Islam—which have peacefully coexisted for at least a thousand years. Russia is practically the only state that has not had any religious wars. In Europe even small states have had religious wars. We have not had them. Many customs have become common to us. Thus we should somehow help society and ourselves to view things on a wider scale by using the positive aspects of our fatherland, our traditions and customs, the real ways in which changes can be brought about without causing any fatal injuries.

[Rutskoy] I would like to express the following idea: the idea of the creation of a council of creative intelligentsia is right and timely. This should have been done a long time ago—as far back as 1992—when a movement had emerged that was called the Rebirth of Russia, and when in the same year, in matter of two or three months, it was clear that it had chosen the wrong direction. Certainly many people expressed their views, called on us to come to our senses and to think about it, but we never heard from those who are in power at present. Ruslan Imranovich was right when he said that a law is a law whether it is good or bad. If it does not suit society it can be changed but in a legal way. We can see what is going on now. Once one touches upon corruption issues, one is immediately told and it is announced in the media that this is yet another intrigue of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviet, and the vice president.

The Supreme Soviet came forward with a proposal that the government should give an account of the actions carried out in 1993. Yet again one can hear statements that this is yet another political action. In other words, no matter what is proposed so that the situation can be changed for the better, it is called a political action by the same people.

Now to answer the second question on the emergency measures and what I understood by this. First, many have spoken here in this respect. How much further downhill can Russia go? Let us ask ourselves this question. I think further is simply a dead end. I think it is clear to everyone that by our standards we can put up with all this somehow and public consciousness is calm more or less but by Western standards this is a deep crisis, a moral, economic, political, and legal crisis. Suffice it to mention the example mentioned by Prokhanov—the trial of the DEN newspaper. I could give many more examples of this. I could cite hundreds of cases where law enforcement bodies do everything they can to suppress real facts. Perhaps you saw a television program yesterday with some strange tape being played—this is nothing but (?spying), nothing but that because telephone conversations are being tapped in order to compromise state officials and in this way to whitewash those who were in some way involved in criminal offenses, and so on and so forth.

But if you look at these things in real terms, you cannot disagree with this. You just look how actively this single channel [odnokanalnaya], and I stress single channel, propaganda campaign aimed at corruption of society is being conducted. Is that not extraordinary? Is it not an emergency situation when the crime rate among young people is skyrocketing? When youth clubs are being closed down, when children's sports schools are being shut down, when art schools are being closed down, and so on and so forth? Everything is going private. Where can people with no money get it from? There must be some alternative way of getting it. Is that not an emergency situation?

Moreover, I have met with work collectives, with people in the arts. In the provinces lately I have been asked all the time: What happens next? What is in store for us? If we all act separately in shaping public consciousness—a need for which has already manifested itself acutely—we can simply end up with another revolution in Russia, which it just will not survive. It just will not survive it! The measures which today are being proposed by the president and the government are like another cavalry attack, another economic revolution. Though everyone understood ages ago that it is an evolution that is needed, and primarily an evolution of the consciousness, and it is through evolution that we will achieve this. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Baburin View 'Destruction' of Russia

PM1307084593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jul 93 p 1

[Interviews with Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov, Vice President Rutskoy, and "Rossiya" faction coordinator Baburin by N. Garifullina; place and date not given; under rubric "Who Is Destroying Russia": "Course of Disaster"]

[Text] "How would you assess the appearance on the map of the Russian Federation of the Urals, Vologda, and other republics? Who, in your opinion, is inspiring this process, and what will its consequences be?" These questions were answered by:

Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet:

[Khasbulatov] There is, of course, no secret about who is directly inspiring the sovereignization process—it is the so-called Constitutional Conference. Last year, through the conclusion of the Federation Treaty, we were largely able to control these trends and stifle them. That is why our work on the Constitution was not rushed or hurried, but it was fundamental. But as for these "constitutionalists".... They do not know the country—that's the problem. This is why they have decided to take on the Constitution in a cavalry charge, thereby reviving separatist forces and engendering extremely serious and very dangerous processes. Just what will the consequences of these processes be? It is quite obvious that we are talking about the disintegration of Russia.

The fact that Sverdlovsk Oblast has proclaimed itself the Ural Republic is also no coincidence—it is maybe a form of pressure. But, after all, they are counting only one option, without even realizing that there are another dozen different concomitant factors relating to these conspiratorial forms of sovereignization. Their consequences will be ruinous for Russia. The Supreme Soviet will implement the most correct course, following the law and the Constitution. We are already taking action.

[Garifullina] The reform coalition is planning to issue a call for a congress to be held before 30 July to adopt the Constitution....

[Khasbulatov] That's all hot air! [Khasbulatov ends]

Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy:

[Rutskoy] I think many people at the Constitutional Conference forgot about the principle of federalism when the question of statehood was being decided. The main principle of federalism is the economic and political equality of the rights of all components. If this had been put forward as a basis at the Constitutional Conference, there would have been no cataclysms.

What is happening? Take the system for forming the budget. Russian oblasts and krays account for 57-60 percent, and then there are import-export taxes and so forth on top of that. As a result, that figure reaches 85 percent. And the republics have definite advantages—their taxes are 30-40 or even 50 percent lower than those of the oblasts and krays. There are also "import-export" advantages when it comes to foreign economic activity, and some republics actually contribute nothing at all to the federal budget. Is that fair? The Russian oblasts and krays, with an equal industrial, scientific, and technical potential, feel that their rights are being infringed. That is why this trend toward "republicanization" has emerged. But once they are all independent and sovereign states—as the republics making up the Russian Federation are currently demanding—there will be no federation. It would be a confederation, and we would be just one step away from the abyss, from complete and final collapse.

Who would stand to benefit? Remember Gavriil Popov's essay "What is to be done?", reread Starovoytova's speeches—they openly propagandize the idea of dismembering Russia into 60-70 states and republics. This idea is now being implemented. It is no accident. When people talk about "the collapse of the Soviet Union" it is an out-and-out lie: We have not seen a collapse, we have seen a carefully planned and executed destruction.

The constitution cannot be adopted today. We are in a single geopolitical area—the former Soviet Union. We need to decide what our neighbors are planning to do—there are around 60 million Russians still there, they cannot be left to the whim of fate. By adopting this constitution we would merely increase the influx of refugees. I am convinced that sooner or later we will be living in a united family. Not on the principles of "elder" and "junior" brothers, but on the basis of equality of political and economic rights and freedoms. [Rutskoy ends]

Sergey Baburin, coordinator of the "Rossiya" faction:

[Baburin] Why did the center need the "initiative" from Sverdlovsk Oblast in declaring itself a republic? The reason, to my mind, is very simple: Apart from the carrot (the old paradigm: "Take as much sovereignty as you can swallow"), which has long been advocated at the Constitutional Conference for both krays and oblasts, the authorities decided to give the republics a hint that there is also a stick.

But there is one aspect of this affair that is not very pleasant either for Yeltsin or for those who advised him to encourage the people of Sverdlovsk to set up the Ural Republic. They failed to take account of the fact that they can initiate this process, but it will be virtually impossible to stop it.

I view this process without surprise and without histrionics, but also without any pleasure, because it is indeed very contradictory. On the one hand, the proclamation of krays and oblasts as republics—even when it runs counter to all Yeltsin's constitutional promises—evens out the rights of Federation components. This is a positive and necessary factor—we cannot preserve privileges for the republics while the krays and oblasts are in a demeaning position.

So why aren't I pleased?... It is easy to throw a rock over a mountain and then listen to the rumbling avalanche as it rolls down. But what if you're not at the top but at the bottom, and the rumble is headed your way?

I have reason to believe that Mr. Rossel, head of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Administration, had prior consultations with the president before taking part in the proclamation of the Ural Republic. First initiating something and then acting as peacemaker is one of Boris Nikolayevich's traditional ploys. After all, Yeltsin did not say that it was wrong to proclaim the republic. His assessment was that it was **"untimely"**. That was a hint to the republics who are unhappy about upgrading the status of krays and oblasts—look, for the time being I'm saying "untimely," but who knows what I'll say tomorrow.

The development of the situation shows that the president and the government did not and do not have a regional policy or any desire to seriously reform the Russian Federation state system in a planned fashion and with the utmost guarantees for civil rights in all regions. I advocate that krays, oblasts, and republics have equal status, if to that end it is necessary to formalize krays and oblasts differently. But I would like to state unambiguously, whatever attitude my colleagues may take toward me, that there can only be one state sovereignty in Russia and it can only belong to the Russian Federation as a whole. There can be no sovereign states within the sovereign Russian state. We have already been indulging ourselves with sovereignization and are now completely repeating the model for the destruction of a state which was already tested on the Soviet Union. Now, clearly, we will see the continuation of this process. Other regions will follow in the wake of the Ural "republic." It just took one to be the first....

Yeltsin Faces 'Ultimatum' From Radical Democrats

PM1207161193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 9 Jul 93 p 1

[Petr Akopov article: "Radicals Trying To Take Control of Government: President Handed Another Ultimatum"]

[Text] The Russian Government cannot get used to criticism. The activity of the Cabinet of Ministers in the past two years has aroused constant discontent for various political forces. But on Tuesday it was the radical democrats who expressed their discontent with the Chernomyrdin government. At a news conference called by leaders of the Parliamentary Coalition for Reforms, people's deputies, including Sergey Yushenkov, Lev Ponomarev, Sergey Kovalev, Gleb Yakunin, and Anatoliy Shabad, stated that "antireform forces are becoming active within the Russian Government" and that there are "grounds for believing that Viktor Chernomyrdin has switched camps."

The public accusations against the "revisionist government" have combined with warnings about the possible switch by the democratic radicals to opposition to the president. "We draw the president's attention to the threat hanging over the fate of the reforms," the people's deputies wrote in their statement. What made the radical politicians issue such grave warnings and charges?

The statement lists "specific steps" by the government which revise the results of the April referendum (?) and they look strange to say the least. They include the recent appointments of Former Vice Premier Georgiy Khizha as chairman of the Russian Government's Expert Council (which is viewed as tantamount to reinstatement in office) and of the former party functionary Viktor Polyanichko as leader of the administration in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone with the rank of vice premier, and criticism of the activity of A. Chubays and B. Fedorov at a closed session of the Council of Ministers Presidium. But these claims are understandable: They are due to the wounded ambitions of democratic radicals who want to control the cadre policy of the president's Administration and the government.

As is well known, after the appointment of Sergey Filatov as leader of the president's Administration many of his radical democrat comrades went to work in the Kremlin. Meanwhile, the government apparatus consists largely of economic managers and old apparatchiks who used to work with Chernomyrdin. Indeed, the government itself consists of two parts: On the one hand there are the professional administrators, who include the premier himself and first deputy premiers Oleg Lobov and Oleg Soskovets, while on the other there are the professional economists like Boris Fedorov and Anatoliy Chubays. The fact that the two groups have been coexisting in the same team for seven months now can be interpreted in different ways. If you proceed from the unrealistic desire to carry out the shock therapy and an accelerated economic reform then it would be good for the the government to consist of nothing but bureaucratic academics. But as the experience of the first six months' work of the Gaydar government showed, such a government cannot work effectively. Practice showed that the Cabinet of Ministers must include not only good financiers but also intelligent administrators whose knowledge of the national economy is more than just theoretical.

The Chernomyrdin government is trying to pursue a cautious, balanced reform beneficial to the domestic producer. In so doing it is inevitably forced to slacken the pace of the transformations. But it should not be forgotten that vice premiers Fedorov and Chubays answer for the reformist bloc. And Chubays's privatization program is being criticized not only by the diehard opposition but also by many liberal economists. In addition, privatization has so far failed to be the engine of the reforms that its authors promised it would be.

Thus it is no surprise that Chernomyrdin is expressing dissatisfaction at the work of the chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. The glitzy publicity campaign for "people's" privatization on television cannot hide the fact that the march of privatization has stalled.

But the most interesting point in the democratic radical criticism of the government lies elsewhere. The dissatisfaction of the reform deputies was aroused by the prime minister's participation in the roundtable conference dedicated to elaborating a national pact of economic accord. In their opinion, the adoption of the Declaration of Economic Independence at the roundtable means that the government has embarked on a revision of the reforms. Dubbing this measure "Khasbulatovist," the radicals condemned the "unjustifiably extensive" TV coverage of the work of the roundtable! But why should state television provide only "modest" coverage of an event involving the premier and the leader of parliament? And anyway, is this an issue for the democrats, who are always speaking out against censorship? Here is an interesting point: Boris Fedorov, who enjoys the "protection" of the radicals and has taken part in numerous roundtable meetings, has in fact rejected the help of his protectors and has not only assessed positively the declaration adopted at the roundtable but has also signed it too.

The democratic radicals have chosen a very unfortunate target to attack. The Chernomyrdin government, whatever its pluses and minuses, is indeed a nonparty government. And although many members of the Cabinet of Ministers have their own political ambitions and sympathies, the Cabinet as a whole takes part in political battles only "at the personal request" of the president. Viktor Chernomyrdin himself has repeatedly warned against attempts to embroil the government in political games. Thus by their demarche the radicals, whether they realize this or not, are trying to split the alliance of the president and the government.

The accusations against the government of revisionism (?) and of deviating from the course of reforms are too reminiscent of the bolshevik practice so hated by the democratic radicals of pinning ideological labels on people. Furthermore, they are accusing people who are doing their job honestly and do not espouse any political program or ideology. It is a very convenient position: First they criticized the communist authorities for replacing practical work with ideology, now they are criticizing the present noncommunist government for placing practical matters above all ideology. The result is that instead of seeking national accord we are again being driven into ideological battles. The president is being handed another ultimatum, only this time by his supporters. Will Yeltsin manage to remain loyal to general national interests without succumbing to party pressure from the left just as he has resisted the pressure from the right?

Free Russia Backs Rutskoy as Presidential Candidate

MK0907103093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 32, 9 Jul 93 (signed to press 8 Jul) p 2

[Yuliya Salnikova report under "Position" rubric: "Free Russia People's Party Urges a Vote for Rutskoy. The Party Is Determined To Meet the People's Need for a 'Political Center'"]

[Text] According to leaders of the Free Russia People's Party [FRPP], there has been no collapse of the political "center," which has been widely discussed in the press (since over the years of its existence Civic Union has emerged as a real force, not especially dependent on the moves of its particular leaders)—while there is "normal routine work" to consolidate the regional structures. Thus, in spite of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] leadership's decision to pull out of Civic Union, so far there has been no such statements from any of the DPR's regional structures, the FRPP maintains. Moreover, at a recent party council session some of their representatives confirmed their participation in Civic Union and declared their intention to form within its framework a certain entity independent from the DPR leadership.

Recalling some failures of the centrist coalition in the past few months, FRPP leaders attributed them mainly to the subjective factor—"a certain overindulgence on the part of Civic Union in lobbying tactics." An objective reason, however, was also mentioned—an "artificially created" polarization of society as a result of which the people, in spite of the need for a political "center," have proven to be not quite prepared so far to accept the idea of centrism as such.

The party council furthermore expressed its support for actions taken recently by Aleksandr Rutskoy. "Sometimes Rutskoy "strains" the party by going beyond the framework of centrist positions," SEGODNYA was told at the FRPP press service, "but this is the kind of leader who must be supported in the upcoming presidential elections."

Paper Questions Role of First Vice Premier Shumeyko

PM1207144393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Aleksey Vorobyev, prefaced by "Our Information" biosketch of V.F. Shumeyko, under rubric "Asking To Be Talked About" and headlined: "Don't Hit Us Where It Hurts Most!"]

[Text] Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko was born 10 February 1945 in the city of Rostov-na-Donu. He graduated from the city's Polytechnical Institute. He is a candidate of technical sciences.

He was an RSFSR people's deputy 1990 through 1992. He was deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet November 1991 through July 1992.

He has been president of the Confederation of Unions of Russian Entrepreneurs since 1992.

He has been first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government since June 1992 and is responsible for industrial matters.

Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko's career very graphically illustrates Lenin's theory that politics is the concentrated expression of the economy.

It is hard to judge how successfully the first vice premier has advanced the course of economic reforms, as the decisionmaking mechanism on Staraya Ploshchad [site of main Russian Federation Government premises] lies hidden behind a thick veil of secrecy. Only the general result is clear: a daily deteriorating economic crisis.

Shumeyko has been picked up on inaccuracies and contradictions countless times, but he still keeps smiling. He was even smiling at the parliamentary session where he was asked to recall just one law prepared by the government to develop the reforms which the Supreme Soviet had spoiled or rejected.

Was it not then that those in control of the government came up with the idea of Shumeyko's personifying the executive power's political line, which has become the concentrated expression of the total chaos and extreme economic views prevailing in the Kremlin and on Staraya Ploshchad?

To all appearances, Shumeyko and Shakhray have become the main levers by means of which the president implements and formalizes various political decisions by the government, illuminating his own personal actions with the authority of the executive power as a whole. It was through Shumeyko that virtually the entire government was galvanized during the campaign to hold the referendum, and he has largely coordinated the efforts of executive structures in the constitutional process.

Consequently, one can understand the very dramatic reaction by the well-known constitutionalist Sergey Alekseyev, who told television viewers after the corruption exposures in parliament that "we've been hit where it hurts most." "Where it hurts most" as regards the president's team has been involvement in (we will not say—culpability for!) such scandalous affairs involving baby food, the appointment and activity of "General Dima," and the granting of strange privileges to various organizations that in any other state would be more than enough to warrant his immediate resignation.

In actual fact, Vladimir Filippovich threatened to take his exposers to court. But then he apparently thought better of it. He said he did not have the time.... Here the circle closed: Having become the reflection of certain economic relationships, politics is expected, when required, to conceal some of the impurities mixed into these relationships. Everything, as we can see, is in the Bolshevik, Leninist tradition.

Composition, Role of Presidential Council Described

PM1207155393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 2

[Roza Sergaziyeva article under "Corridors of Power" rubric: "And in the Kremlin There Is a Council"]

[Text] On the pages of our newspaper you can often read the following line after the name of the author: member of the Presidential Council. This structure appeared in the Kremlin several months ago. Among Boris Yeltsin's consultants are well-known academics, politicians, economists, and journalists, chosen and appointed by the president himself. Here are just a few names: Prof. Sergey Alekseyev, doctor of juridical sciences; Dmitriy Volkogonov, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; the director Mark Zakharov and the writer Daniil Granin; Academician Aleksey Yemelyanov of the Russian Academy of Sciences; and journalist Otto Latsis.

"The Presidential Council is a standing consultative organ," Gennadiy Kara, head of an organizational department sector of the Russian Federation president's administration, says of the work of this structure. "The council elaborates proposals for the president on the strategy for nationwide development, in the sphere of internal and foreign policy, and with a view to raising the efficency of the activity of organs of executive power; it supports the Russian Federation president's relations with political parties, social movements, and representatives of creative, women's, youth, and other social movements and religious organizations. The frequency of the meetings is not rigidly regulated; they gather according to necessity. At a time of political turbulence, this is often twice a month. The work plan is straightforward: A discussion takes place and opinions are exchanged. I repeat that the council is a consultative organ. It does not elaborate directive documents. Only recommendations, which may lay at the basis of edicts, directives, or draft laws which the president submits to parliament. The Presidential Council supplants neither the government nor the president himself."

A small addendum: The Presidential Council contains around 30 persons, who work on a voluntary basis. That is to say, without remuneration.

Yeltsin Leaves on Vacation for Novgorod

LD1307095593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0942 GMT 13 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—Boris Yeltsin today left for a summer holiday in Novgorod Oblast (northwestern Russia), the president's press service has announced.

New Federation Intelligence Arm Being Formed

MK0907093093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 32, 9 Jul 93 (Signed to Press 8 Jul) p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Powerful Information-Analytical Structure Being Created in Shakhray's Agency"]

[Text] The Russian Federation State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation plans to set up a department whose job will be the analysis, forecasting, prevention, and settlement of crisis situations, and the gathering and processing of information which, according to the plans of Kim Tsagolov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation and a former Main Intelligence Directorate lieutenant general, will be sent to this department by all divisions of the State Committee. The department will reportedly be assigned wide-ranging tasks, and "staffers of former special services of the Union are coming there in droves" already.

TV Relay Threatened by Non-Payment of Bills

LD0907155193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1445 GMT 9 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Programs of Ostankino, Russian, and St. Petersburg television companies will not be broadcast from 1900 to 2000 on 13 July if these companies fail to pay the bills of the St. Petersburg relay center. So, instead of Vesti and yet another Mexican soap opera, television viewers will be watching a test pattern. Well, this is not the first report of its kind, and if things go this way further, we, the TV staff, will soon become the only viewers and no supervision councils in the parliament will be necessary.

Paper Offers Same-Day Access Via Electronic Mail

PM0907151793 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 15, 9 Jul 93 (signed to press 6 Jul 93) p 5

[Unattributed report: "How to Subscribe to NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA By Electronic Mail"]

[Text] Foreign subscriptions to the printed version of NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA can be arranged through the news and advertising firm East View Publications Inc. (United States), which guarantees rapid and hitch-free delivery of the newspaper to subscribers.

Moreover, East View Publications Inc., in conjunction with the SHESTOY ETAZH news agency, is offering all readers the chance to subscribe to an electronic version of NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA.

The publication takes the form of a set of textual computer files of articles from each issue of the newspaper typeset in exactly the same way and grouped under four subject headings.

The electronic version of NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA is distributed to subscribers to the "East View Data Network" (EVNet) international information network, which is based on the new-generation BizLink telecommunications system.

The system's technical capabilities allow the EVNet/BizLink information network to provide a full range of innovative services, including:

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the ability to browse selected reports [vozmozhnost selektivnogo oznakomleniya s materialami gazety];

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Paper Corrects 'Inaccuracy' in Yeltsin Edict Report

PM1207103593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

["Correction"—IZVESTIYA headline; correction pertains to item headlined "Yeltsin Ban on Foreign Trips Viewed" published in the 7 July Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT on page 22]

[Text] There was an inaccuracy in the article "Russian President Prohibits Official Trips Abroad at Someone Else's Expense" (IZVESTIYA No. 124). At the request of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security we make the following clarification: The planned destination of the unauthorized trip by a group of space specialists who had to be taken off an aircraft at Sheremetyevo-2 was not South (as the article said) but North Korea.

We offer our apologies.

Economic Issues

Khasbulatov, Chernomyrdin Welcome Roundtable Economic Accord

PM0907144193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Look Before You Leap"]

[Text] The participants in the roundtable conference have assessed the signing of the declaration of national economic accord as a most important step on the path of consolidating Russian society on questions of implementing the economic reform. In the document the conference participants present a statement of measures necessary to extricate the country from the crisis.

The authors of the declaration note that the formation of a market in Russian conditions is a gradual process which requires not just the use of market methods but also an active role for the state. The document proposes the conclusion of special agreements and accords among the main participants in the reform process. Reducing the rate of inflation, halting the slump in production, social policy, and regional policy are the main aims of the reform.

The participants in the roundtable meeting recognize the special importance of elaborating and implementing urgent measures to broaden the social base of the reforms, including measures aimed at preventing mass unemployment and the fall in the population's living standard. They believe that the success of the reform will depend to a large extent on the cooperation of the Federation and its components, who are advised to conclude special agreements.

A. Milyukov, coordinator of the roundtable drafting group, stated that the declaration "upholds a centrist approach to the implementation of the reforms." The practical coordinated actions of the Supreme Soviet and the government are the most important problem at present.

R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, stated that the document is of exceptional significance for the country's future. "This is the first document created on the basis of consensus in a Russia undergoing reform," he noted. In his opinion, an opportunity is being created to conduct the reforms thoughtfully and reach accord on the main problems of principle.

V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Government, believes that the declaration "answers the main task today—the search for civilized ways to coordinate different views and approaches to what to call our economy in the future."

Declaration Issued

PM1207152393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jul 93 First Edition p 5

[Text of "Declaration of National Economic Accord" made by "participants in the roundtable conference" of "representatives of business circles, labor collectives and trade unions, political parties and movements, science, and the state"; place and date not given; carried under the "Official Section" rubric]

[Text] The participants in the roundtable conference—the forum of Russian social and political forces convened by the country's parliament and government from among representatives of business circles, labor collectives and trade unions, political parties and movements, science, and the state—declare their agreement regarding the measures needed to extricate the country from the crisis and promote the constructive continuation of the reforms.

The roundtable participants are unanimous in their assessment of the socioeconomic situation which has developed in Russia. It remains a difficult, crisis situation influenced by a slump in production and uncontrolled inflation. Russia's economic and scientific potential is in danger of being destroyed and its regions of being fragmented. Real steps toward the market are being accompanied by a considerable decline in the living standard of the bulk of the population.

We have no major disagreements on the understanding of the factors causing the crisis and the slowing down of the reforms. They are:

—the legacy of the past and the disintegration of the Union's national economic complex;

—mistakes in economic policy;

—political confrontation, which is diverting attention from economic problems and preventing the unification of all healthy social forces on the basis of transformations.

The crisis can be overcome only on a platform of Russia-wide accord, observance of the principles of social partnership, and a precise definition of Russia's state aims and interests and of its specific characteristics in the reform process. It is also necessary to adopt a package of urgent measures ensuring the stabilization of the economy as early as the second half of 1993 and creating the preconditions for its subsequent upturn.

On that basis the roundtable recommends that the following be used as guidance:

1. Principal Directions of the Economic Reform

We are unanimous that the reform must be directed toward the formation in Russia of an effective market economy—a competitive, socially oriented, mixed economy based on a diversity of forms of ownership and management.

The formation of the market in Russia's conditions is a gradual process based on not just the use of market methods but also the active transforming role of the state.

In following this path the burden of the reform must be shared among the various sectors of the economy and groups of the population; the least protected strata have the right to targeted social support.

The success of the reform depends directly on preserving Russia's integrity and unity and on a coordinated and stable distribution of powers between the Federation and its components.

Russia's economy must be integrated into the world economy on the basis of mutually beneficial cooperation and economic reintegration with interested partners from the CIS.

When implementing the transformations it is necessary to take account of world experience in carrying out reforms and adapt it to Russian conditions on a basis of national accord and the trends in world development.

2. Organization of Coordinated Work to Overcome the Crisis

We believe that the Russian economy can be extricated from the crisis primarily by coordinated actions to reduce inflation and halt the slump in production without counterposing those tasks to one another. At the same time the task of stabilizing and raising the population's living standard must be achieved.

A positive outcome could be achieved by special agreements and accords (all-Russia solidarity pacts) among the main participants in the reform process (the federal organs of state power and management, the components of the Federation, the trade unions, associations of entrepreneurs, and other social associations).

Talks on the conclusion of such agreements for the stabilization period should begin immediately and the mechanisms for their implementation should be enshrined in law. In the longer term, once stabilization is achieved, they could form part of a permanent cooperation among management components, society, and the state.

3. Agreement on the Program of Reforms

We consider it necessary to make progress along the path of reforms on the basis of a clear, targeted, and open [glasnyy] state policy. For this purpose an all-Russia agreement should be concluded which could include the accords set out in Sections 1 and 2 of the Declaration. This agreement presumes that the following areas are specifially incorporated:

lowering the level of inflation;

halting the slump in production;

social policy;

regional policy.

Lowering the level of inflation

We consider that inflation, even in the course of production stabilization and expansion, can be reduced to 10 percent monthly by the end of 1993, with a further reduction in 1994.

The following agreements are proposed for this purpose.

Agreement on Regulating Prices and Incomes:

Components: the government, associations of commodity producers and entrepreneurs, and trade unions.

Aim: While preserving overall the market character of price formation the aim is to end the chaos in the movement of prices and incomes and pursue a state policy of curbing the growth of prices in the stabilization stage.

Main Provisions:

a) regulating the level or dynamics of prices for individual types of output (and services) in the base sectors of the national economy;

b) establishing a link between prices and tariffs for certain consumer goods and services (medicines, baby food, bread) and the level of the minimum wage and pension provision or the targeted subsidy of the budgets of underprivileged families;

c) contractual support for intersectoral price parities, including support for output produced and consumed by agriculture;

d) establishing a procedure which, via the taxation mechanism, links the wages fund for enterprises in different forms of ownership with the results of production activity;

e) increasing the taxation on very high incomes;

f) desisting from demands to increase incomes above the levels set by general, sectoral, tariff, territorial, and other special agreements.

Agreement on the Reform of the Budget System:

Components: The Supreme Soviet, the components of the Federation, the government, the Central Bank, associations of commercial banks, and associations of commodity producers and entrepreneurs.

Aim: to stabilize Russia's state finances and regulate mutual relations between the federal and territorial budgets.

Main Provisions:

a) measures to ensure the full and prompt collection of state revenues, especially privatization revenues, profits tax and value-added tax, and the expansion of benefits which encourage investment;

b) strengthening state financial discipline on the basis of a multichannel system of state revenue collection;

c) the indexation of budget expenditure dependent on revenue received. Not exceeding the approved budget deficit limit when financing that deficit to a possibly higher level by issuing state securities;

d) advancing credit for trade with CIS countries, with the transfer of credits to their state debt to Russia. A mandatory condition of such credit is that it must be really backed up by the issue of a promissory note;

e) the demarcation of the state budget and finances of state enterprises and the autonomy and responsibility of enterprises regarding their assets and liabilities.

Currency agreement:

Components: The government and the Central Bank.

Aim: urgent measures to stabilize the national currency.

Main Provisions:

a) to instruct the Central Bank to combat more rigorously the dollarization of the Russian economy;

b) to develop a currency market. To view the sale of currency in it by enterprises as a voluntary transaction and prices in such dealings as auction prices only. The Central Bank must study the question of quoting an official rate for the ruble on the basis of the real value of the ratio of Russian exports to imports;

c) the gradual abolition of the compulsory sale of 50 percent of hard currency earnings by exporters;

d) suspending before the end of 1993 the operation of the privileges granted to enterprises and regions in budget currency settlements. Strengthening currency control.

Halting the Slump in Production

Bearing in mind the urgent need to stabilize production (taking into account structural policy) and to revive investments, the roundtable proposes that an agreement be concluded to stimulate the investment process and commodity production. A package of measures should be implemented to adjust the country's current economic policy.

Agreement to Stimulate the Investment Process:

Components: the Central Bank, the government, associations of banks, and associations of commodity producers and entrepreneurs.

Aim: To restore the investment process and develop the country's money market.

Main Provisions:

a) to assist the formation of a capital market. To elaborate a package of measures to support the process of saving. For these purposes to implement measures to protect the population's deposits and savings and provide incentives encouraging the use of the resources mobilized by the credit system primarily for investment purposes;

b) the obligation on commercial banks to use an agreed proportion of the preferential centralized refinancing amount exclusively to provide investment credit for the production sphere, with a limited margin;

c) the voluntary payment into special bank accounts of the resources of enterprises to be used for the expansion of production and renewal and to use those resources exclusively for the purpose of investment crediting.

As **measures designed to adjust the current economic policy** of the government, the roundtable recommends:

a) introducing tax breaks and other concessions for the investment activity of enterprises including depreciation deductions for renovation and dividends to be used for accumulation:

b) switching from unsystematic state support of individual sectors and regions to an integrated structural policy. This policy is to ensure overall economic development in the country by activating construction, conversion, the development of the agri-business, the fuel and energy complex, and the infrastructure. In this regard the social orientation of structural transformations must be ensured;

c) restoring the management of the state sector in the economy when updating the status of state enterprises, the forms of their use of state property, and the system of appointing leaders. It is essential to ensure that state enterprises adapt to the competitive market environment and fulfill their contractual obligations in the new management conditions;

d) creating the conditions for the efficient functioning of privatized enterprises, including the prevention of mass bankruptcies and the insurance of business operations. Elaborating a regime for the reorganization and conversion of these enterprises with minimum damage to production and employment. Ensuring active management by the state of its portfolio of shares in privatized enterprises;

e) ensuring the observance and improvement of economic legislation, organizational-technical reorganization of the system of payments, the reduction of nonpayments to those instances involving the actual insolvency of enterprises, and resolute eradication of corruption and crime in the enterprise sphere;

f) developing production cooperation and joint enterprise especially with partners from the countries of the CIS and the former CEMA as well as the PRC. Using to this end the foreign trade machinery, reciprocal customs and tax benefits, and the development of the infrastructure of foreign economic ties;l

g) pursuing a policy of wider attraction into Russia of foreign investments which do not aggravate the foreign debt and are channelled directly into production instead of foreign credits. Allowing branches of foreign banks to issue credit for the production sphere in Russia above the 12 percent ceiling for their operations in the country's banking sector.

Social Policy

The participants in the roundtable recognize the special importance of elaborating and implementing urgent measures to broaden the social base of the reforms, including those aimed at preventing mass unemployment and the decline in the population's living standard.

For this purpose the Supreme Soviet, the components of the Federation, and the government, in addition to the aforementioned measures, are to elaborate measures to provide social guarantees for the population within the limits of the Russian economy's potential, including:

a) elaborating measures to compensate the population for the increasing cost of consumer goods and services to the tune of at least 70 percent of the increase in prices;

b) gradually raising the minimum level of pay, pensions, allowances, grants, and other social payments to the level of the subsistence minimum, and then indexing it; protecting citizens' deposits against depreciation through inflation;

c) elaborating measures ensuring the gradual raising of wages for workers in the budget-funded sectors of the national economy to the average level in the national economy based on a single tariff framework;

d) pursuing a targeted policy in the sphere of the social protection of underprivileged strata of the population based on a calculation of the average per capita income;

e) granting state guarantees for the receipt of a certain social minimum level of services (in the sphere of health care, higher, general, and vocational education, culture, and so forth);

f) ensuring through collective contracts (agreements) the application of an efficient work payment system, stimulating workers' labor and creative potential, and on that basis increasing working people's incomes;

g) giving priority economic support to enterprises guaranteeing the production of consumer goods (services) at stable prices.

At the same time the adoption of the following **employment agreement** is recommended:

Components: the Supreme Soviet, the government, the components of the Federation, trade unions, and associations of commodity producers and entrepreneurs.

Aim: to prevent mass unemployment and help the workforce to adapt to the new economic conditions.

Main Provisions:

a) the development of enterprise, including small and medium business;

b) state supervision of enterprises' reorganization with a view to preserving (relocating) jobs and creating conditions for more active population migration to regions of labor shortage;

c) a mechanism for retraining personnel and the creation of effective insurance against temporary unemployment, including a scheme for people leaving service in the Russian Army.

Regional Policy

The roundtable believes that the success of the reforms and the stabilization of the economy in present-day conditions depend to a large extent on cooperation between the Federation and its components, which are advised to conclude a special agreement.

Components: The Supreme Soviet, the Government of Russia, the components of the Federation, associations of commodity producers and entrepreneurs, and trade unions.

Aim: to define the role and place of the Federation and its components in implementing the economic reforms.

Main Provisions:

a) measures to preserve Russia as a single and free economic area while preventing internal economic and legal barriers to the movement of goods, capital, information, and manpower; a unified monetary system and foreign economic policy and a unified scientific complex and educational system across the country;

b) the transformation of a number of direct-action federal laws into Fundamentals of Russian legislation;

c) the division of Russian state property and the right to dispose of it between the Federation and its components;

d) the laying down of uniform principles for the territorial organization of the budget process;

e) measures to stabilize interregional economic ties, including measures based on state policy in the sphere of tariffs for transport and other infrastructure services;

f) measures to ensure the minimum social guarantees for the underprivileged strata of the population in all the republics and regions of the Russian Federation;

g) the elaboration of regional aspects of economic reforms coordinated with the components of the Federation.

The participants in the roundtable are agreed that the country needs a verified course of reforms based on Russia-wide consensus. The present Declaration could provide the foundation and basis for practical actions in this sphere.

Chernomyrdin Signs Decree on Export-Import Bank

LD1007122893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a decree on forming an export-import bank which will be the government's agent for granting and attracting credits. The controlling block of shares, that is 26 billion rubles, will be paid from the federal budget for 1994. Experts believe the decision means that many functions carried out by the USSR Vneshekonombank, for example the attraction of foreign credits on behalf and on the instructions of the government, will go over to the new bank. The Vneshekonombank will only deal with the repayment of the internal and external debts of the former Soviet Union.

Gerashchenko Explains Central Bank's Policies

LD0907173493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1155 GMT 9 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS— Chairman of the Central Bank of Russia Viktor Gerashchenko has described the monetary and credit policy of the Central Bank as moderately restrictive. In his opinion, last year it was a policy of forced response to explosive situations in the economic and social spheres, which were the result of crisis phenomena, the inflation growth of prices and a deep falling-off of production and foreign trade.

The balance of the Central Bank was drawn up for active and passive operations on January 1, 1993, in the volume of 10.5 trillion roubles. The volume of profits was 488 billion roubles, Gerashchenko said, making a report today at a joint session of the two chambers of parliament about the Central Bank's performance in 1992.

According to Gerashchenko, banking transactions with other CIS member states created one of the most complicated problems. Some of the former USSR republics began to introduce their own monetary systems, and the rouble's status became even more unclear. In these conditions the Cental Bank had to separate its rouble clearing turnover from the clearing turnover of the former USSR republics. Banks of those countries were transferred to the system of correspondence accounts.

In the area of the currency policy, the Central Bank's efforts were concentrated on bringing down the frequency and scope of the rouble's fluctuations with regard to foreign currencies with the help of direct currency interventions. One billion dollars was spent for that purpose. "The analysis of currency regulation actions makes it possible to come to the conclusion that the liberalisation of the currency and foreign trade regime, in conditions when there is no system of effective currency control, promoted the worsening of Russia's currency situation. As a result of it, the outflow of capital from Russia increased in 1992. The plummeting of the rouble exchange rate intensified the inflation process," Gerashchenko stressed.

He suggested amendments to the law on currency regulation, which would ban the transfer of foreign currency by natural persons to foreign banks and would tighten responsibility for the violation of the currency and customs legislation.

Energy Minister Warns of Need To Save Fuel

LD1207223993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] In a meeting with journalists, Minister of Fuel and Power Yuriy Shafranik said that by the autumn consumers will be forced to save every kilogram of coal and every liter of gasoline and every kilowatt hour of electricity. Eduard Mendeleyev reports:

[Mendeleyev] Russia's fuel and power complex is going through difficult times. This is demonstrated in particular by a report on its work in the past half year made public on 12 July at a meeting of the minister of fuel and power of the Russian Federation with journalists. Thus, extraction of oil in the first six months of the current year has fallen by 15 percent compared with last year and extraction of coal by 9 percent. There was an unusual fall in the level of work in the gas industry: in the first half year 318 billion cubic meters of gas were extracted, which is 98 percent of the figure for January-July last year. The fall in the generation of electricity amounted to nearly 7 percent.

In the opinion of Russian Minister of Fuel and Power Yuriy Shafranik, the fall in production was the result of factors such as the insufficient commissioning of capacities and reduction in volume of work for maintaining the existing potential, a sharp fall in investment, compounded, strange as it may seem, by the lack of demand for the work of the power men. The main problems of the fuel and power complex remain non-payments. Thus, for instance, the debt of the consumers according to figures for 1 July amounted to 3.7 billion rubles. Nevertheless oil is for some reason considered a gift from God obtained without special effort, Yuriy Shafranik believes. In his opinion, 157 days a year Russia lives at the expense of the fuel and power complex.

Stepankov Issues Warning on Banking Malpractices

PM1307102993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Report from INTERFAX and RIA NOVOSTI roundup under the "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" rubric: "General Prosecutor's Concern Vindicated"]

[Text] Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov has drawn the Supreme Soviet's attention to serious violations of the law in the area of credit and banking.

A report issued by the General Prosecutor's Office News and Public Relations Center notes that the current legislation regulating this most complex area of the economy does not meet present-day demands. He is convinced that the new system of interbank settlements introduced by the Central Bank of Russia allows unhindered embezzlement of sums running into many billions.

Judging only by the current criminal proceedings instigated over incidents of embezzlement using false payment documents (credit notes, "Rossiya" checks, memorial orders), it has been established that criminal groups were attempting to embezzle more than 300 billion rubles. The general prosecutor emphasized that his proposals aimed at improving banking legislation have not been examined for a long time now, although this is long overdue. V. Stepankov also put forward new proposals including proposals to introduce the declaration of income by corporate bodies and physical persons involved in raising the incorporation capital for banks and increase material responsibility for the misspending of bank credits, violations of the norms and regulations for monetary settlements, and delays in payments.

Jan-Jun 93 Fuel Production, Export Figures

MK0907102093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 32, 9 Jul 93 (Signed to Press 8 Jul) p 3

["ADS"-signed report under the "Fuel" rubric: "Fuel and Energy Complex: We Produce Less and Less, and Export More and More"]

[Text] The slump in the oil, gas, and coal industries continues, as is evident from the performance of these Russian Ministry of Fuel and Energy sectors during the first six months of 1993. The amount of oil produced was 175.19 million tonnes, or 14.8 percent less than the amount (2,005.61 million tonnes) produced over the same period last year. The primary refining of oil fell by 4.1 percent (109.68 million tonnes during January through June 1993, and 127.69 million tonnes during the same period last year). There was a drop in the production of gasoline, diesel oil, and fuel oil by 2.2 percent, 3.3 percent, and 9.4 percent respectively. Coal production fell by 9.6 percent. During January through June it stood at 155.67 million tonnes whereas it was 172.19 million tonnes during the same months last year.

There was a slight decline in the gas production sector, which otherwise operates in a rather stable manner: 318.38 million cubic meters of gas was produced during the first six months of 1993, or 1.9 percent less than during January through June last year. Specialists attribute the slump in gas production to a decline in demand for this type of fuel.

Export deliveries of oil and gas continue to climb. Oil exports increased by 31.9 percent (40.40 million tonnes) in the first six months of 1993 over January through June 1992. Gas exports are up 3.3 percent (51.46 billion cubic meters.)

Military Issues

Minister Kondratyev's New Appointment Denied

MK0907095093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jul 93 p 2

[Unattributed report under "Vladivostok" rubric]

[Text] Sources close to the Pacific Fleet command report that Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, Russia's deputy defense minister, has not only been nominated to the post of chief inspector of the Pacific Fleet, with a role to coordinate the resolution of problems on Russkiy Island, but has also been apparently appointed special overseer of military formations of all types of arms and services stationed in the Far East. The headquarters denied as "hasty and unsubstantiated by orders" the information about G. Kondratyev's possible appointment as commander of the main headquarters of the Russian Federation Armed Forces Eastern Group [Napravleniye] (Ulan Ude) or as chief of the Far Eastern integrated general troop formations command directorate (Komsomolsk- na-Amure).

Defense Funds Low; Concern Raised Over New T-90 Tank

MK0907101093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 32, 9 Jul 93 (signed to press 8 Jul) p 1

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Armor" rubric: "New Tanks for Russia? But Who Knows What To Do With the Old Ones"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Defense Ministry is short of funds this fiscal year to pay for already manufactured military equipment. The army rearmament program is going ahead nevertheless even if the rate of purchases has been steeply reduced compared to the 1980's. In particular, the armored troops directorate insists on equipping the troops with the new T-90 tank. The T-90 differs from the T-80 mainly in that the vehicle is assembled entirely from Russian components whereas the main production facilities for the T- 80 are now abroad, in Ukraine. Ukraine is unable to manufacture the T-80 on its own, though, because the 125-mm guns for the tank are made in Russia.

The T-90 has been designed exclusively to take a diesel engine, which is of fundamental importance because the T-80's gas turbine engine is sensitive to dust and (according to unofficial comments by military professionals) masses of these vehicles stalled during summer exercises and assault dashes because of their rotten filters.

In other respects, the T-90's capabilities do not differ much from those of the T-80. That consequently raises some doubt about the need to additionally equip the Russian Army with this vehicle unless it has been fundamentally improved (or until a really new tank has been designed for warfare in the new millennium). The USSR manufactured more than 100,000 tanks between 1965 and 1990—more than the combined production of all the rest of the world. Today nobody has any use for most of those machines. Even the cutting of the armor for remelting costs more than the original metal.

Defense Sector's Financial Plight Viewed

PM0907103193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jul 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Linkov report under the "Press Conferences" rubric: "Defense Complex in Financial Tight Spot"]

[Text] "Do not be surprised if combat equipment lines up outside the Supreme Soviet in the near future"—this was the conjecture made at a news conference by A. Piskunov, member of the parliamentary Committee for Defense and Security. He added: "But do not be frightened. Such action will be no more than a protest action."

It is another matter that it is the executive branch rather than the deputies which should be "frightened." The state, by placing orders for military equipment and arms at defense enterprises, has financed the necessary expenditure. But inflation and constantly rising prices for basic materials and power sources have done their deed. The defense output produced in May and June can no longer be paid for. Naturally it is piling up at enterprises. In order to purchase it, the state needs to fork out somewhere around half a trillion rubles [R]. But it is entirely a question of where to get them from.

Nevertheless, at closed parliamentary hearings the deputies, jointly with representatives of the military department, tried to find reserves when discussing the revised federal budget submitted by the government. Even at the open press conference a brief account was given of the very difficult situation that has developed in the military-industrial complex and which threatens to turn into a social explosion. In addition, conversion is by no means proceeding simply. There is no return and none is foreseen in the near future from export weapons deliveries. The international military market was carved up long ago. It is difficult for Russia to penetrate it.

By driving the defense industry into a financial dead end are we not thereby undermining the Army's combat capability? No, according to the testimony of Defense Ministry representatives. For the time being everything is being kept at the existing level. But if things continue in the same vein there is a real danger of losing some positions to the extent that afterward what has been achieved can no longer be retrieved.

Glybin Interviewed on Defense Industry Issues

MK0907111093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jul 93 p 5

[Interview with Yuriy Glybin, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Committee on Defense Industries, by Mikhail Karpov under "Military-Industrial Complex" rubric; place and date not given: "Our Defense Ministry Is No Pentagon Yet. Therefore Yuriy Glybin, Newly Appointed Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Committee on Defense Industries, Maintains That At Present it Is Impossible To Fully Abandon the Former Defense Production Orders System"]

[Text] [Karpov] As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has learned, the publication in the press of an interview with Defense Minister Grachev and his first deputy Kokoshin has produced, let us say, a restrained reaction in your committee. Why is this?

[Glybin] I am more concerned with Andrey Afanasyevich's interview since it is related to many of those tasks and questions with which we are dealing. Therefore I would like to elaborate on some of our views, nuances, and shades of opinion concerning some statements made in the first deputy defense minister's interview. Of course, I will not venture to comment on this interview as a whole, in other words on the viewpoint of the Defense Ministry, but will only state my opinion as first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Committee on Defense Industries.

First of all, a brief description of the situation in the Russian defense industry. The 1993 production order level was 32 percent of the 1991 level, and it has fallen by 68 percent on final defense equipment deliveries. That is to say, the equipment bought by the Defense Ministry: tanks, aircraft, guns, and so forth. And if we talk about commodity production [tovarynyy vypusk produktsii], which still exists in spite of the fact that we are no longer planning or taking it into account, the sum involved is considerably higher—by approximately 2 to 2.5 times, because there is what is known as secondary and tertiary complements [komplektatsiya].

Based on these figures, one understands that it is impossible to restructure the defense industry over one and a half years in such a way as to fill the resultant vacuum completely. Therefore in 1992 and 1993 we have had a substantial stagnation in the growth rate. This predetermines all the consequences affecting the worker collectives directly. Above all, these are job losses, and people need new jobs; they need to develop new types of products and so forth.

The state is rendering some assistance to our enterprises in dealing with these problems. In 1992 some 77 billion rubles [R] in prices as of the end of 1992 were allocated for these purposes. The law on the Russian Federation budget for this year provides for the appropriation of R300 billion in January 1993 prices, and in addition, the Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution on achieving a balanced budget in the first quarter envisions another 150 billion; that is to say, R450 billion overall. As of today, in my view, although it is very difficult to keep track of all this, approximately R1 trillion is actually needed.

But this money is designed not only for enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation Committee on Defense Industries [Roskomoboronprom] but also for those departments and organizations that have also been affected by arms production cuts, above all the Ministry of Atomic Engineering, and a number of enterprises, for instance, in the automobile industry. They are also sustaining tremendous losses.

The second thing that needs to be taken into account when analyzing the situation in the Russian defense industry is the complicated and difficult period of reform that Russia is now going through. We understand how difficult it is to pass through it. At the same time a reform in the Army is under way. And above all, the military-political concept itself has been revised. Earlier, it was conditioned by the confrontation of the two superpowers, the existence of two opposing camps, which called for the creation under these conditions of corresponding armed forces which we provided with arms equal to their tasks.

[Karpov] Does the new military-political concept raise objections from Roskomoboronprom?

[Glybin] No. It does not raise any objections. Because the military-political concept is defined by the state. It is part of its overall policy. And the military-technical doctrine is part of this concept. Here I would like to make one substantial remark. This doctrine should not be determined only by military bodies. Otherwise it will become purely departmental.

[Karpov] In other words, it will become exactly what the Defense Ministry wants it to be?

[Glybin] Military-technical doctrine should be defined solely by a military body. This is their key question. Allow me to say this. It is often asserted that the raising and maintenance of our army, its functioning, must follow the U.S. pattern. This view is fairly often expressed in government circles. True, it has never been conceptually formalized anywhere. So, with respect to military-technical policy several components need to be taken into account.

If, as the first deputy defense minister maintains, the aim today is partnership with the United States and NATO, then, logically, there should be a treaty on collective security. Proceeding from this, the concept for a military doctrine should be worked out whose basic provisions would be in harmony with it. Only then, on this basis, a long-term arms program.

Why is this necessary? Because the time needed for the production of sophisticated complexes of air defense, aviation, and artillery systems, especially in shipbuilding, is measured in terms of years, and in building such complexes as heavy aircraft carriers, in terms of five-year periods.

This is why there should be an arms industry program for 10 to 15 years which would define the targets for enterprises. Then, on the basis of this program—and it could be created in "interactions" [interaktsiya], like, incidentally in the United States—10 years, then a shift [sdvizhka] for a year, then another 10 years, and another one-year shift, and so forth; an order is issued for the production of particular types of arms for a year, and on the basis of this plan industrial mobilization plans are developed. In other words, it is defined for what it should be prepared in emergencies. There are no such documents, clearly, specifically formulated. Moreover, under the Law on Defense, all of this is the prerogative of the president and not only of the military department alone. Although it elaborates the main principles of the arms program along with the industry.

Now about the U.S. system which is being proposed as a model. What is happening there? It is known that the Pentagon basically consists of two parts. The armed forces proper—the ministries of the Air Force, the Navy, and Ground Forces. And also a civilian component which has three main functions: It determines arms orders, it defines an arms program, and finances it. According to some estimates, it employs 26,000 people; according to others, up to 50,000. In other words, it represents a whole conglomerate of specialists who create, as we say, the "image" of a particular product. For example, what a missile should be like. On this basis, using competitive selection, they choose a firm capable of filling the order. They also determine the optimum costs on the basis of which they finance the project, and throughout its implementation they strictly monitor the activity of the firm selected.

[Karpov] In other words, purely civilian personnel deal with this, people who have no relation to the army?

[Glybin] These are economists, engineers, specialists in military technology. And this, in a country where the bulk of the military industry belongs to the private sector. Although in the United States there are basic, key laboratories and research organizations that are under government jurisdiction. For example, the Los Alamos laboratory and others which ensure the development of all types of specific armaments. They are monitored by the state.

By contrast, here in this country these functions were fulfilled by a number of line institutes which shaped the "image of weapons." Thus, for instance, in the field of small arms, the Central Research Institute of Precision Machine Building; in the field of armored equipment, the Leningrad Transmash Institute; in aviation equipment and the entire aviation infrastructure, the GosNIIAS [exact expansion unknown; possibly, the State Scientific Research Institute of Aviation Systems]; in missile and space equipment and systems, the Central Research Institute of Machine Building [TSNIIMASH]. And all this was done in conjunction and with the participation of military institutes. They even had a special organization responsible for each particular direction. In its time there was a very imaginative minister of the aircraft industry, Petr Vasilyevich Dementyev, who once used an apt phrase which later became proverbial: "We shall give the military not the kind of weapons that they ask for but those that they really need."

[Karpov] Should this be understood in the way that the thinking of civilian specialists in any field of armaments somewhat runs ahead of military thinking?

[Glybin] I would not say that. The military defines technical targets for a particular type of weapons proceeding from the tasks that need to be addressed on the conceptual plane. Next the matter is handled by, let us say, a tank designer, and then work with the military begins, in parallel. But like parallel lines in Lobachevskiy's geometry, these directions eventually converge. On one hand, the developing scientists say that the specifications for this particular type of weapons cannot be met. On the other, they say that some other functions should be added and suggest how it could be done. In the end the facets of the pyramid converge and final technical specifications for a particular type of weapons are produced. This was and still is how our system is organized.

Today we have some very competent, intelligent, and devoted people working in our ministry. Naturally I am better acquainted with the technical components: chiefs of equipment departments for arms, services, and so forth. But no apparatus that could fulfill the functions of the Pentagon's civilian component has been created yet. Therefore, if we talk about the U.S. military-technical decisionmaking system, we should think about how to come by this kind of apparatus. Furthermore, the U.S. Defense Department is under strict oversight. There is an administrative budget directorate under the president. And they say that it is just as difficult to get new proposals from armed services, after their arms programs have been completed, as it is for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.

[Karpov] But this directorate exists under the president and not under the Congress?

[Glybin] There are a number of committees in Congress that examine forthcoming proposals, but it makes the final decision itself. Before the U.S. President submits any arms programs for its consideration, however, they must be approved by the administrative- financial department. They are analyzed. They are cut and something is dropped from them, so be sure. This is how real professionals work. But the main thing is that the budget for the next fiscal year there is drawn up 9 to 12 months before its beginning. In other words, this time is used to make the requisite preparations—conclude contracts, look for the firms, and so forth. All time frames there are very rigidly regimented. This complicated, multifaceted mechanism works smoothly.

Ours is a young state, and nothing of this sort has been put in place yet. And therefore, I understand, in this transitional period it is necessary to use the potential that we have accumulated. And our professionals are no worse. They are specialists in a number of fields. Everything that the defense industry and research institutes have accumulated. Therefore the decision whereby the Defense Ministry should be the sole contractor, without the participation of the institutes, without their close involvement, needs to be revised.

[Karpov] What about the civilian part, which in the United States forms an organic part of the Pentagon?

[Glybin] If this variant is to be adopted, than we should take our systems institutes and those specialists who are in the Russian State Committee for the Defense Industry, the Ministry of the Economy, and set up such a structure in the Defense Ministry. Is this possible? As I see it, it is.

[Karpov] This means you advocate a merger of the artificially, or perhaps not deliberately divided agencies?

[Glybin] I have recognized this variant as a possibility. But it could not be managed overnight. This is a long and hard process, and therefore the operating structures of the executive branch should be working at the given moment.

[Karpov] Does this mean, do you think, that the Defense Ministry is being a bit hasty?

[Glybin] Yes, of course. If one speaks about switching to the purely contract-based American system, than it calls for serious organizational measures that would enable the merging of the existing Defense Ministry structures with those that either exist or existed earlier in the defense industry.

[Karpov] There is, however, yet another point of view. For example, it is argued that a link such as the Russian State Committee for the Defense Industry is totally unnecessary—in conditions where all financing is concentrated in the Defense Ministry or is being now done out of its pocket. As for the Committee, it is an intermediate mechanism that only acts as a brake and hinders things.

[Glybin] Let me put the record straight—not out of the Defense Ministry's pocket but out of the state budget. My deep conviction is that the efficiency of solutions to all questions is determined by the level of professionalism. I have been in defense industry for 34 years. I started out at a factory, was chief engineer of a main directorate, then worked in the State Planning Commission on what they called "the 10th floor." Therefore I know well enough all these hidden ropes of ours: professional specialists should necessarily be pressed into service. That means pressing into service the Russian Committee for the Defense Industry as well, because many of them are there.

Let us take this years's state order formulated by the Defense Ministry with the participation of the Ministry of the Economy, or rather, by the Ministry of the Economy with the participation of the Defense Ministry. It in fact only covers finished items. As I said, tanks, aircraft, and ships. But let us take a big antisubmarine ship—a medium-class item—up to 2,000 enterprises provide components for it. There are, of course, small and big components. Since no new infrastructure has been created to date, everything is falling apart with us trying somehow to build the necessary links. No contract-based system is yet in place while the former system is no longer there and reform is under way. This naturally has given rise to serious contradictions.

All this could be easily checked out if you talk with chief designers. Clearly, if one employs the available potential to develop the "image" of a new item, a very serious effect could be achieved. For example, the first solid-fuel missile appeared on submarines precisely under pressure from civilian scientists in the defense complex. Or take such an exciting machine as the BMP-2, which has since been modernized into the BMP-3 and recognized as the world's best infantry fighting vehicle. It has been in fact equipped with an aviation-caliber rapid-fire gun following necessary alterations. The machine is remarkable for its easy-to-handle control system, a controlled variable clearance, and so forth. It was born in such an original manner. There are many such examples.

[Karpov] And yet, who do you think is supposed to say which equipment the army needs. The prevailing situation only provides pretexts for panicky articles like the one alleging that the army's combat efficiency today is lower than it was on 22 June 1941. This is alleged by just one colonel. It is perhaps not up to him to assess Russia's defense capability?

[Glybin] I cannot say anything to that because I do not have sufficient information.

[Karpov] I know. But you must have your own view about who is supposed to determine the way the two systems now in existence should function: together, apart, or in cooperation?

[Glybin] On instructions from the Security Council, we have sent it our proposals on a system of decisionmaking in matters of military technology. We think there should be a single coordinating body to regulate the efforts of all ministries and agencies developing weapons systems during a transition period until a fool- blooded contract-based system is in place, if we finally opt for it. This should be a civilian body. In which case it would remain under no agency. It should be formed in the government, within the executive branch.

[Karpov] Why should not it be the Security Council then?

[Glybin] When I used to take part sometimes in its sessions, the Security Council discussed global, strategic questions. For example, conceptual provisions for a military doctrine. It never got down to discussing specific questions. What does it take to create a new complex for the armed services, after all? This takes pressing into research and development hundreds of enterprises. Under the prevailing situation in our economy, this is unconscionably hard to do. First, everybody asks to be paid in advance. Second, orders have plunged. Importantly, whatever technology is being produced, including military, there exists the so-called critical level below which one cannot go. Otherwise you lose everything. Today, in the production of many types of weapons, we are sinking below it. It is therefore vitally important that a stabilizing decision be made.

I do not wish at all to sound as if the old system of defense industry functioning was good throughout. It used to be a bit cumbersome and ridden with red tape. There was pressure from the CPSU Central Committee. Direct command, not just pressure. But at the same time, there was a measure of system and order that were supportive of the achievement of military-strategic and technological science parity in the sphere of military science and armaments. In this respect, we should by all means adopt all that was best in the old system—high responsibility, comprehensive approach, commitment to that which is the most up-to-date, reliance on own resources and potential, joint decisionmaking on the entire range of military, technical and conversion questions, and especially personal responsibility.

To achieve that in new conditions and at a new level is the key task; without reliance on foreign models—even if optimal in their conditions—but through creating our own Russian model that would ensure political, military-technological, economic and social independence of the state.

Strategic Rocket Forces Chief Interviewed

PM1207135193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Colonel General Igor Dmitriyevich Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces, by Colonel Anatoliy Belousov and Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Dolinin; place and date not given: "Among Us Everyone Is On Duty—From Soldier to Commander in Chief"]

[Text] Igor Dmitriyevich Sergeyev was born 20 April 1938 in the city of Verkhniy, Voroshilovgrad Oblast. He graduated from the Black Sea higher naval school named for P.S. Nakhimov and with distinction from the command faculty of the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Military Academy and the General Staff Military Academy. He has served in the rocket forces since their birth. He has held various engineering, command, and staff posts. Since 1 September 1992 he has been commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces.

He is married with a son who is a student at the Moscow highways institute.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Whatever we may say of the difficulties of our life and service today and of the shortage of everything, duty shifts are organized in the rocket garrisons at the set days and hours, the banner with the symbols of the Strategic Rocket Forces are hoisted on the flagpole, and the words "To alert duty for the defense of our fatherland!" are heard. Solemn and moving minutes... And do you remember the first time you were on alert duty, Igor Dmitriyevich?

[Sergeyev] Of course. It was the start of the Caribbean crisis. In 1962. I was a senior lieutenant, deputy commander of a battery. The regiment set up the launch positions urgently. They prepared weapons and equipment. They prepared themselves. After all, we had all come from different branches and categories of troops. I myself was still in my Navy greatcoat, but I was wearing boots.

The battery commander, Captain Boris Basov, presented me to the personnel and said: "Here you are, Sergeyev, second officer with engineering education in the regiment. You hold the cards. Go out and take command." What could I do? I was a missileman, but a naval missileman. And here there was a missile—the 8 K 63, the most sophisticated for those times. Incidentally, it really was reliable. Quite recently it was removed in accordance with the Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missile Treaty. But there is a model of the missile standing on a pedestal next to the Main Staff. It has earned that.

Servicing the weapons and equipment and keeping them ready was wholly the responsibility of us engineers. If a cable went out of commission you would rush for a soldering iron. If a fault occurred you would not wait for the industrial experts, you would go through the whole sequence and check every assembly, unit, and block. That was how my first alert duty began. Of course, I did not feel like celebrating...

When the Caribbean crisis broke everyone—from soldiers to the regiment commander—was at the launch positions day and night. At the time there were not barracks yet. We lived in dugouts and tents. We streunously engaged in combat training.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Your reminiscences are yet more evidence that the creation of the Strategic Rocket Forces was conditioned by the entire course of political events in the world. And the strategic missilemen's alert duty too was not someone's whim but a vital necessity....

[Sergeyev] It was then that the alert duty system started to take shape. It was hard for the entire battery personnel to be next to the missile continuously but these awesome weapons could not be left unguarded for a second. So there began the formation of degrees of combat readiness with the corresponding duty shifts which were constantly on alert duty. Structural transformations also began.

In their time Strategic Rocket Forces commanders in chief Nikolay Ivanovich Krylov, Vladimir Fedorovich Tolubko, and Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov did a lot for the birth, development, and improvement of the alert duty system...

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How far have the conditions of alert duty changed now?

[Sergeyev] Unfortunately, they have not improved. If, of course, you have in mind not those remote times but quite recent times. It has become harder. Why? A very large number of missiles have passed their guarantee date. It is not hard to understand what that means. Special attention should be paid to them. It is harder to maintain their level of combat readiness. There is a chronic shortage of personnel. In other Branches of the Russian Armed Forces that can also be felt. In our branch particularly. After all, you cannot interrupt alert duty. In no circumstances. People must constantly be taken off alert duty, rest, prepare themselves, and go in again. It is a continuous circle. We have no possibility of docking, like a ship which has come from alert service. A ship goes on alert service, returns home, and has a rest, a break. But we are constantly "at home," that is in the position areas of the rocket regiments and divisions, but on an alert service regime which does not stop for one second.

We need three shifts of alert forces, as formed and confirmed by the practice of duty. Not by virtue of conservative principles. If we leave two shifts, as some people now suggest, people simply break up. There will be no proper leisure, there will be insufficient physical and moral strength. A man cannot withstand what is beyond him. Only a few of our men withstand 20 years of alert duty.

To ease the position of those on alert duty and to increase the staffing of alert shifts, this year we did not send a single graduate of the missile higher education establishments to the troublespots, to the central apparatus, or to Moscow. Only to the combat crews! I promised this among the troops and I am keeping my word. Everything for the troops, that is our principle.

Under the conditions of the reform of the Armed Forces we are thus ensuring equal "starting" opportunities for all young lieutenants. For those who have influential parents and for those who have none. If they give a good account of themselves in the troops then with time official travel and promotion will be assured them.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Since we have started to speak of the central apparatus, how is alert duty organized here?

[Sergeyev] Today everyone is on duty in the rocket forces—from soldier to commander in chief. That was never the case before. The leadership of the Strategic Rocket Forces engaged mainly in organizational matters. But now... I press the selector button and liaise with Major General Kuznetsov, deputy commander of the alert forces. He reports that the duty general today is Colonel General Kochemasov, chief of the Strategic Missile Forces Main Staff. He will be replaced by my deputy, Colonel General Nikitin. Then I will go on alert duty...

We decided at the military council that this is the only way. Only when you are on duty yourself do you see all the problems from the inside. But first we had to study and reinforce our essential practical skills. We trained for six months in order to take the tests for authorization for alert duty.

...Together with Stanislav Grigoryevich Kochemasov on the alert shift, the alert duty has been joined by the troops chief of communications, the chief of the department for the guard and defense of position areas, the aviation chief... I am sure that when they have felt for themselves the existing problems and felt for themselves all the hardships, their proposals for improving alert duty will be entirely justified and feasible.

...Because of the personnel shortage we are now optimizing the shifts so that someone who has gone on alert duty can work in several specialities. It happens that officers pick up a wrench and perform duties which they did not before. But that is the only way. We cannot entrust a place next to a missile to the half-educated.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But do servicemen under contract not ease the situation? We know that there are many of them in the rocket forces. Since KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published advertisements about the Strategic Rocket Forces to this day letters and telephone calls are coming in, that is there are still people who want to join.

[Sergeyev] Thank you for the advertisement. It has been successful. And very useful. After all, previously our life was relatively prosperous. Today even the alert crews are staffed only 50-60 percent. And servicemen under contract are of little help here. We take them on mainly for those posts where the equipment is most complex and where they must be attached permanently In the future we shall recruit contract servicemen on the basis of our real potential.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Igor Dmitriyevich, the rocket forces' alert duty regime is constantly changing. They used to be on duty for a week. Now it is three to four days. How to explain this?

[Sergeyev] Practice has shown that this is the best length of time. It is physically hard to be on duty for a week and less than three days is impossible. Otherwise you lose continuity. After all, when you go on alert duty you have to adapt, to "take in hand" all the information about the state of the troops, consider it, and constantly maintain the combat readiness of the men, the weapons, and the backup systems.

Every day the alert shifts have to organize, carry out, and monitor a large volume of complex operations connected with an increased risk. They include operations like the mounting of nuclear warheads on missiles and their removal, their transportation, the mixing of the components of rocket fuel and fueling... And this entire process must be controlled continuously.

There is a special, specific management in the rocket forces. It is management of the troops and of weapons—down to each autonomous launcher. It is centralized management and pervades all the troops vertically, from the central command point to the launch position. It is important to achieve the precise coordination of all alert shifts. The general on alert duty must know all the strong and weak aspects not only of his own crew at the central command point but also in the formations, combined units, and units.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Alert duty, as we have had occasion to be convinced again, is no picnic. People get tired. Are any, let us call them rehabilitation measures, envisaged?

[Sergeyev] At present our opportunities are drastically restricted. We have been deprived of the fine "Frunzenskoye" sanatorium constructed in the Crimea using the funds of the Strategic Rocket Forces. Vladimir Fedorovich Tolubko envisaged it as a center for the rehabilitation of missilemen, and that is what it was. Many people could envy its facilities. And rest here was organized for the missilemen with their families, when that was still the case nowhere else. But now we do not have this sanatorium and in terms of that criterion we are as it were a "second-rate" branch of the Russian armed Forces.

Of course, we are taking steps to make up losses. The Russian Federation defense minister is meeting us halfway. We are also seeking reserves among ourselves. In every regiment we have authorized the creation, using its own funds, of its own mini-center for rehabilitation—with a swimming pool, steamroom, sports hall, and special simulators. That is a great help. It is no accident that the spot-checks on physical training carried out by the Russian Federation Defense Ministry never catch us unawares.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Igor Dmitriyevich, what is your attitude toward sport?

[Sergeyev] If I did not practise sport there is a lot I would not have achieved. In the evening, after 2100 hours (earlier is not possible, unfortunately) the chief of general staff and I play badminton, for instance.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Comrade Colonel General, the rocket forces, and no one needs to be persuaded of the fact, are renowned for their professional, selfless, strong men. But after all they are nothing without equipment. Yet now missiles are being eliminated and new treaties are to come... Our readers are interested by the question With what missiles will the missilemen be on alert duty? What will Russia be left with? In brief, there is the opinion that the rocket forces grouping must be preserved in full and the number of missiles too...

[Sergeyev] But you must consider that many missiles have passed their guaranteed service life. And it is dangerous to keep them in service. Second, and we have said a lot about this, there are not enough people to service them. And we cannot expect them. Our potential is not infinite. There is a limit in staffing beyond which there is a danger line. Alert shifts, however we optimize them, must remain within their former structures. We do not have the right to reduce them. Rapid changes connected with nuclear missile weapons without detailed planning are intolerable.

For that reason we should not be hostile to international accords on the elimination of missiles. This is a balanced process which considers our real potential and the positive elements taking place in the world. Ultimately the reduction of nuclear confrontation makes the world safer. Naturally, the security of Russia and its allies should not suffer here.

Taking this into consideration, we envisage retaining a rocket forces grouping necessary for defense requirements, putting into it the minimum necessary number of modernized missile complexes to replace superannuated missiles. The technical groundwork for this exists. The appropriate financing is needed.

I recently visited Votkinsk and other defense plants and was convinced that our Russian industry can create modern weapons. After all not much is needed for this, a minimum to ensure that production sharing is not destroyed and that cadres are retained until conversion finds its feet. Now many professionals are leaving, professionals with top qualifications, what is more. Who would stay for 15,000-20,000 rubles a month? When we start to think about it it will be too late. We are losing our scientific and industrial potential. And we will pay five to 10 times as much to rectify the situation. And we shall lose time. Everyone seems to understand that, including the Russian Government, but there is no proper financing. Yet you must know that a total of only about 6 percent of the military budget is required for the rocket forces.

...For all the complexities I nonetheless remain an optimist. I believe we will survive all the difficulties. And we shall not weaken our alert duty.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Meets International Correspondents

LD1007160593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1551 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow July 3 [date as received] TASS—Chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov met in the House of Soviets today a large group of journalists from the world's leading mass media organs, accredited in Moscow.

During the conversation, which lasted for almost two hours, Khasbulatov answered questions dealing with home and foreign policy, the reform course in Russia, the relationship between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of authority, as well as problems of cooperation of the Russian parliament with parliaments of the CIS member states and of other foreign countries, the press service of the Russian parliament reported today.

Responding to the question of KYODO TSUSHIN whether or not the all-Russian economic conference, planned to be held in the near future, is going to become a dress rehearsal of a Congress of People's Deputies, Khasbulatov said that the conference could become a prelude to the congress, but its main objective is to achieve consensus in the strategy of economic transformations. According to Khasbulatov, one of the tasks of the conference is "to promote peaceful ideas in society, to instil optimism". He added that the problem of convening the next Congress of People's Deputies "is not on the agenda today".

Khasbulatov spoke in detail about his stand on the settlement of regional armed conflicts on the territory of the former USSR and of disputes between former USSR republics. He described as unsatisfactory the performance of the Russian diplomacy during the settlement of regional conflicts not only along Russia's borders, but also in other hotbeds tension in the world. He pointed as well to the absence of a clear political line in upholding Russia's interests.

Responding to the question about a possibility of pre-term parliamentary elections, Khasbulatov said that now, after the all- Russian referendum at which the nation voted against pre-term elections, he does not find it possible to support this idea.

Parliament Presidium Session Meets 12 Jul

Session To Go Until 23 Jul

LD1207130993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1210 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jul—The work of the sixth session of the Russian Supreme Soviet will go on not until 16 July as earlier supposed, but until at least 23 July. This was announced today by Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov at a session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's Presidium. He said the reason for the need to extend the session's work was because draft laws of vital importance for the country had to be revised and approved. What was meant in the first instance was, of course, revision of the draft of the Russian Federation state budget for 1993 that up until now has not been approved by parliament.

Wants All-Russia Conference

LD1207163693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet added new questions to the parliamentary session agenda today. While most issues were discussed relatively calmly, those questions involving close contact between legislative and executive powers stood out conspicuously. Thus, on discussion of the state program of aid to regions that had suffered from the Chernobyl accident, the failure of the Russian Ministry of Finance to carry out the decision on the financing of the program earned harsh words from the Supreme Soviet chairman. For instance, today the arrears in payment of compensations and benefits amount to 60 billion rubles. The chairman remarked that it is time to prosecute for not complying with the laws.

At the same sitting a proposal was made to hold an all-Russia conference at the beginning of August, to discuss all aspects of social policy in the country and the fulfillment of legislative acts.

Plans for Seventh Session

LD1207165093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] The Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has examined the agenda for the seventh session of parliament and the proposals for legislative work for the coming year. It is planned to hold the session from 15 September to 24 December. Over this period, taking account of a week's break for the duration of the Congress of People's Deputies, it is planned to examine about 150 items of legislation, including those connected with implementing economic reform and the social protection of the population.

Urges Repeal of Estonian, Latvian Treaties

LD1207203393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet arrived in Strasbourg to take part in a European Parliament session. Before flying out, Ruslan Khasbulatov chaired a session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Its members decided to extend the work of the sixth session of the Russian Parliament by a week at a minimum. It was originally thought the session would end by 16 July. Apart from that, the Presidium approved and submitted to the Russian Parliament for examination a draft decision in which it is suggested to the president and government that they submit to the Supreme Soviet for examination the question of repealing Russia's peace treaties with Latvia and Estonia, concluded in 1920. As is known, Latvia and Estonia are currently making territorial claims to two rayons of Pskov Oblast on the basis of these treaties.

Deputies Assailed for Pro-Iraq Sympathies

PM1307104593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 2

[Yevgeniy Ikhlov "Rejoinder": "Can You Bomb the Gestapo?"]

[Text] In holding up the "pro-U.S." Foreign Ministry to shame, our most Supreme of all Soviets was evidently not afraid of a reputation as one of the world's most "pro-Iraqi" parliaments. Its frenzied defense of the Baghdad fuehrer's "sovereignty" went perfectly with the blatant, unbridled coarseness that "our" parliamentarians unleashed on Marshal Shaposhnikov, who resolutely came to the defense of democracy in August 1991 by promising to protect from the air that very "White House" on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment where "our" totally irreconcilable opposition were nagging him like crazy. Since "our" crude "Saddamites" proved as lacking as their Mesopotamian idol in the technical ability to put up staunch resistance to "Yankee imperialism," they once again "vented their feelings" on a humble representative of the "occupying regime" (who is too intelligent for their game).

But that is not the issue. The main idea espoused by "our" "May Day patriots" is the priority of the rights of the individual over the rights of the people, which sounds very liberal until a desire to send troops outside Russia—to defend the rights of the "individual," particularly former members of the "Soyuz" group—appears behind it. "Russian Unity" and other "national saviors" consider vigorous actions by the armed forces against Moldova and Georgia a possibility since they consider the regimes there "terrorist" and "ethnocratic," but compared with Husayn Tbilisi's and Chisinau's most foolhardy and aggressive actions are still a model of "corrupt liberalism and abstract humanism." Or not?

Certainly in the case of Iraq the United States has somewhat abandoned ceremony and avoided interminable UN Security Council sessions. Well, the criteria for evaluating the actions of a policeman in the City of London and a sheriff in the Wild West (or a New York "cop," say, in an area where the drug mafia is active) are somewhat different. After all, our opposition has always favored strict, "conservative" treatment of criminals without recognizing "liberal" soft treatment, but Bush and Clinton have realized their dreams "of truly tough" behavior, and parliamentarians are unhappy!

I would like to ask another question: Had a truce been concluded during World War II and then the allies had caught nazi agents preparing to assassinate Churchill, would they not have had the right to bomb the Gestapo's "central office" on the Wilhelmstrasse? One may of course accept the idea that there is not only a quantitative, but also a qualitative difference between Husayn's and Hitler's regimes. That viewpoint is undoubtedly valid for those who believe that you can gas the Kurds, unlike gypsies, Jews, and democrats..

TV Highlights Work of Deputy Andronov

LD1207202093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1445 GMT on 12 July carries the 50-minute "Parliamentary Hour" program.

The "Parliamentary Hour" opens with shots of a rally organized by women who have come to Moscow from Sevastopol to express their indignation with the fact that the Black Sea Fleet is to be divided 50-50 between Russia and Ukraine. The report by an unidentified correspondent is followed by shots of a Supreme Soviet session [9 July] at which a decision on the status of Sevastopol was made. The report showed some participants, mainly naval officers, interviewed before the session on that day, speaking in favor of Sevastopol belonging to Russia.

The program goes on to highlight the work of one of the Supreme Soviet deputies—Iona Ionovich Andronov—aimed at freeing all Russian servicemen from captivity in Afghanistan. Reportedly, there are 312 of them in the country at present. A journalist by profession, I. Andronov worked for the former Soviet Union and Russia in Asia, Europe, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan, and wrote books about the CIA, the FBI, and the war in Afghanistan. He is a member of the Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties. He explains to an unidentified correspondent in a lengthy interview in an office why he decided to fight for the release of Russian servicemen. He talks about problems he encountered during numerous trips to Kabul with the aim of negotiating their release and the progress achieved. He goes on to say that the aim of his visits to Kabul was also to "normalize relations between Moscow and Russia." It was agreed during one of the trips that Afghanistan would send a delegation to Russia to discuss everything, like releasing prisoners-of-war and putting an end to incidents on the Afghan-Tajik border.

Andronov says: "I reported to Ruslan Imranovich [Khasbulatov] on my trip. He sent a short letter to our Foreign Minister Kozyrev that contained the following proposal: We, the Supreme Soviet, have the opportunity to send our representative there again and then report everything to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that is, we will act together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In reply, Kozyrev sent a three-page official letter to Ruslan Imranovich in which he lectured him in detail on the situation in Afghanistan, adding the following at the end: I think it is expedient not to take this step right now and to wait for a while. The letter was dated 3 February 1993. Nothing has been done since."

He continues: "The real cause of it all is not the fact that Kozyrev is against the release of the POWs; of course not. Kozyrev is not against establishing peace on the Afghan-Tajik border, no. But Kozyrev is against Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, initiating this move and carrying it out. He did exactly the same when I worked under Rutskoy—I was his adviser on international issues—he axed everything, absolutely everything, on POWS, on normalization of relations, and did it behind the scenes. He informed against Rutskoy to Yeltsin. He did it for one very simple reason—in no way to give a chance to Rutskoy to end at last [word indistinct] so that it became known to our people, our public."

The correspondent notes that "it is clear that Kozyrev is occupying someone else's place. It is clear that he is doing more harm than good to the policy of our state." Andronov says that "we live in a fascinating country. The Kozyrev business, who he works for, is crystal clear. It is absolutely clear that he does not work for Russia. If you like, I will show you some U.S. newspapers, a NEW YORK TIMES article devoted to a meeting between Clinton and Yeltsin in Vancouver. I think the date is 5 April. I do not have the newspaper with me, but I can remember the paragraph in it very well. It says that President Clinton and President Yeltsin decided that President Yeltsin would express his most innermost thoughts about the political situation not inside the building but during their walk in a nearby wood, so that a shorthand report of their conversation could not fall into the hands of the opposition in Russia, as it happened during the last visit to Moscow by President Bush. Period and end of quotes. I do not have the article with me, but I have quoted it literally, word for word, what it said. The opposition somehow got hold of the shorthand report of the conversation between Bush and Yeltsin held in January when Bush visited Moscow and signed START II.

"Someone gave it to the opposition. It was published in a Moscow newspaper. In it, Yeltsin says the following to Bush—I am quoting word for word—you asked me to leave Kozyrev at his post and I did it. The end of quotation marks, and period. Here is the answer to the question who Mr. Kozyrev works for." He goes on to say no other country has anything of the kind, all other foreign ministers defend the interests of their countries. He notes that Russia is a very strange country indeed.

The next report shows distraught mothers desperate to hear what happened to their sons who served in Afghanistan. A film in English with Russian translation about Russian POWs follows, in which Iona Andronov appears speaking English. The video shows relatives of Russian POWs, fighting, the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan, and various military commanders and officials interviewed.

Concluding the program, the announcer notes that now, when the whole of Russia is watching the "Parliamentary Hour," it is important to tell the truth to the people, tell them exactly what the situation is. Andronov says that he can only repeat what he already said at the last congress, namely that "the minister traitor is in charge of the foreign policy" and concludes by saying that now it is up to Russian citizens to decide whether they mind their interests being betrayed or not.

Regional Affairs

Chernomyrdin: Visit to North Focuses on Economic Concerns

PM1307104993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 93 p 1

[Vladimir Gundarov and Aleksandr Pilipchuk report: "Viktor Chernomyrdin's Trip"]

[Text] The itinerary of the two-day trip to Arkhangelsk and Murmansk Oblasts by Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, gave observers an excuse to link it, above all, with the problems of the Russian Navy and the shipbuilding complex. Viktor Chernomyrdin's itinerary really did include such defense giants as "Sevmashpredpriyatiye" and "Sever."

In Severomorsk he visited several ships and talked with their commanders, including Captain Second Rank A. Kulikov, commander of the latest nuclear-powered submarine. On board the nuclear missile cruiser Admiral Ushakov the premier held a conference with Yevgeniy Komarov, head of the Murmansk administration, and Vice Adm. Yuriy Ustimenko, acting commander of the Northern Fleet.

Viktor Chernomyrdin's coming to Severomorsk right now is, in actual fact, logical. The Northern Fleet is experiencing serious financial difficulties, and an important social area—preparations for the grim polar winter—is faltering. At the same time it is also possible to make a broad interpretation of the purpose of the trip by the chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers.

The mass media of the two oblasts located on the shore of the Arctic Ocean have recently begun carrying articles whose authors turn to the region's remote past. Long-forgotten definitions have appeared in the pages of newspapers—the Kola Republic, the Council of Ministers of the Kola Republic, the Maritime Republic....

Answering a question from a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent in this connection, Viktor Chernomyrdin emphasized that his coming to the north should not be linked with the tendency which has become apparent for oblasts to be transformed into autonomous republics within the Russian Federation. The purpose of the trip is not political but concerns economic aspects.

Tours Navy Facilities on Kola Peninsula

LD0907175793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Report by Information Service correspondent Yuriy Arkhipov from Murmansk]

[Text] [Arkhipov] Viktor Chernomyrdin was met at the steps of the plane at Severomorsk airport by leaders of Murmansk oblast and the command of the Northern Navy. Just after this, the prime minister and those accompanying him went to the surface ships formation, where, to honor the high ranking guest, a guard of honor was mounted by the Northern Navy at one of the moorings.

Viktor Chernomyrdin held a joint conference with the command of the Northern Navy, oblast leaders, and major industrial enterprises directors of the Kola Peninsula aboard the Admiral Ushakov cruiser. The main purpose of the visit by the Russian Government head is to familiarize himself with the state of affairs in the Northern Navy and in the economy of the peninsula. During the conference such important issues were touched upon as the utilization of nuclear submarines and surface ships, the burial of nuclear waste, and the further financing of the Northern Navy and its subunits. The latter problem is quite topical. At one of the military yards for repairing vessels, workers could not get salaries for two months. Now this issue has been settled, but there is no guarantee that this will not be repeated.

In a short interview that the prime minister gave to correspondents by the steps of the plane, he said that the government attaches great importance to the north of Russia and, in particular, to the Kola Peninsula. The nonfreezing port, the northern sea route, the fishing industry—all these should be working for the development of the kray's economy. But special attention is being paid to offshore fields. This, the prime minister stressed, is a question of special importance and it is high time to proceed from words to deeds.

Russian, Ossetian, Ingush Talks Held in Moscow

LD1207164693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1551 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets met the leaders of conflicting North Ossetia and Ingushetia on Monday to discuss ways to end the crisis in the Russian south.

"Today the course of implementing earlier adopted government decisions was discussed in order to create normal living conditions for both peoples and not to toughen the martial law", Soskovets told TASS after the meeting with North Ossetian Parliament Speaker Akhsarbek Galazov and Ingush President Ruslan Aushev.

He added that problems of housing construction for refugees were discussed.

Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, who also attended the meeting, added that the agenda included, besides housing problems, the elimination of the consequences of natural calamities, the development of infrastructure in Ingushetia and the problem of refugees.

The latter problem seems to be the most burning in North Ossetia and Ingushetia. However, trilateral Russian-Ossetian-Ingushi talks in the Caucasian town of Terek failed to arrive to any decision on the matter, TASS learned from the temporary administration in North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

"So far (the talks) failed to arrive to a mutually acceptable approach to the problem of the return of Ingushi refugees to the Prigorodnyy District of North Ossetia, to agree on the mechanism of the return of refugees, to determine the place of residence for them", the press centre of the administration said.

It was decided at the talks that meetings should be held with Ingushis and Ossetians of the Prigorodnyy District to find out whether they would agree to live close to each other.

Maritime Kray Balks at Republic; Leaders Called to Moscow

LD0907143593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jul 93

[By Oleg Padenko from Maritime Kray, including comments by Ye.I. Nazdratenko, head of administration of Maritime Kray; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] More and more alarm signals are coming in to Moscow from various regions. For example, from Chelyabinsk Oblast where the local soviet has begun preparing to transform the oblast into the South Urals Republic. Representatives of the soviet say that this has been caused by the fact that the Constitutional Conference in Moscow is not taking account of the demands to equalize the rights of the subjects of the federation.

These same themes were discussed in Vladivostok where the local deputies were debating the question of whether Maritime Kray should be a republic or not.

[Begin recording] [Padenko] They have decided for now that it should not be a republic, although this question did not come up overnight. On many occasions, the people's deputies at all levels have tried to determine the place of the kray in the federation. The commission of the Supreme Soviet that has been at work here has admitted that the local economy is in a critical state but has not yet taken any measures. Hence, industry is coming to a halt, the ports are idle, ships are repaired abroad, fish are being sold in neighboring countries, and the Navy is experiencing difficulties. Russia is rife with all of this now.

Furthermore, the kray was shocked that the Supreme Soviet, ignoring the opinion of the people of Maritime Kray, ratified the treaty transferring to China a considerable proportion of Maritime Kray's territory. So, there is no smoke without fire. But, all the same, common sense prevailed. The deputies demanded that Maritime Kray be given the status of a territorial state formation [territorialnoye gosudarstvennoye obrazovaniye].

[Nazdratenko] I consider that it not necessary now to conduct any referendums on the territory of Maritime Kray and that the population should not be stirred up and worried yet again. I think that the deputies' wisdom triumphed in the decision not to set up republics here, along with tens and hundreds of presidents. [end recording]

However, according to INTERFAX, the leaders of the Maritime Kray soviet have been urgently summoned to Moscow to attend a session of parliament. Perhaps this is directly connected with the ideas of proclaiming regional republics. And the representatives of the Maritime Kray soviet explain that the ideas of setting up a republic became widespread after the law on the status of the kray was on the table of the parliamentary leadership for eight months without being touched.

Regional Communications Workers Plan Warning Strike

LD1307122393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1050 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jul (TASS)—A number of collectives of radio and TV transmitting centers of Saint Petersburg; Murmansk, Archangel, Kalinin, and Vologda Oblasts; and Karelia and some other regions have decided to carry out a warning strike today to close their technical facilities down from 1900 to 2000 Moscow Time [1500 to 1600 GMT].

The communications workers understand the inadmissibility of stopping broadcasts of state mass information media, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Anatoliy Nazeykin, chairman of the Central Committee of the Russian Federation Communications Workers' Trade Union. However, they are dissatisfied with only the partial financing of the industry, which does not solve the majority of social-economic problems and which does not reduce the tension in labor collectives.

In the event their demands are not fulfilled, Anatoliy Nazeykin noted, the collectives of the radio and TV transmitting centers, radio communications, and radio broadcasts reserve the right to carry out a stoppage of technical facilities on 27 July because "their normal use is not possible." This in turn "will lead to irreversible processes—the breakdown of the information space of Russia and the infringement on guarantees of the security of the population in emergency situations," the trade union leader emphasized.

State of Economic Emergency Declared in Yakutia

LD1007152793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 10 Jul 93

[By correspondent N. Zvereva; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The correspondents' bureau of Russian Television has spoken to Aleksey Bakulev, Republic of Sakha-Yakutia trade representative for the Volga-Vyatka region. He said a state of economic emergency had been declared in Yakutia. The point is that Yakutia's wharves are empty, and shipments have amounted to no more than 15 percent of the concluded agreements. Yakutia is threatened by starvation and cold, and Yakutia's gold and diamonds may be extracted and sold, of necessity, to any purchasers.

[Begin Bakulev recording] The credit, long promised by the Russian Government, has still not reached the republic. The instruction of the Russian president to the effect that supply enterprises in the Far North area should deliver goods without prepayment is not being carried out. The Japanese, Koreans, and Americans are watching. They have a great interest in the wealth of Yakutia. They may make their own proposals with regard to supplying the republic. [end recording]

Krasnoyarsk Leader on Regions' Equal Status

PM1207141193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Aleksey Tarasov: "A Second Novo-Ogarevo: For Russia This Time?"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—Vyacheslav Novikov, chairman of Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet of People's Deputies, who also heads an association of leaders of representatives of the authorities in Russian krays and oblasts, has announced his intention to convene in the near future a conference of kray and oblast leaders who are most active in the constitutional process; he has also invited representatives of all republics in the Russian Federation.

The aim is to find compromise solutions to the most acute problems of the Federation's internal structure. It must be a federation because, once you have agreed to the republics' definition as "sovereign states within the Russian Federation," it can only be a question of transforming Russia into a confederation.

I should remind you that on 25 June, on the eve of a plenary session of the Constitutional Conference, the Krasnoyarsk leader managed to convene a conference of kray and oblast soviet chairmen, at which official representatives of 42 territories signed a terse statement saying that they felt able to initial the draft Constitution only if 10 fundamental provisions were incorporated in its text. The main point in the stand being taken by the krays and oblasts is that they are insisting on Russia's being a constitutional federation. The point of the demand is obvious: If you take the republics' viewpoint, in Novikov's opinion, the Federation Treaty becomes the fundamental document. But the attitude of the former autonomous formations to this document is well known: Their parliaments are constantly working on the treaty and the republics are giving themselves more and more new rights, thereby moving toward ever greater autonomy. Nowadays someone living in Minusinsk, a city in Krasnoyarsk Kray, has fewer rights than his neighbor 25 km away in Abakan, capital of Khakassia (a republic where the Khakass ethnic group constitutes only 11 percent of the total population).

"If the 'Siberian Accord' territories were to withdraw their signatures to the Federation Treaty," Novikov asked, "what kind of Constitution and state would we have? We cannot allow the country's fundamental law to play a secondary role in comparison to the Federation Treaty."

The kray and oblast representatives said that all members of the Federation must have equal status, with a few exceptions directly stipulated by the Constitution: the right to citizenship and a state language, constitution, and national flag, emblem, and anthem.

Naturally, the united stand taken by the representatives of the 42 Russian krays and oblasts—to uphold the classic principles of federalism—has met with understanding in few republic leaders. Moreover, according to Novikov, quite strongly worded unofficial assessments have been made. However, the unequal status of the Federation's members must be short-lived. Whether others like it or not, the krays and oblasts have worked out their own position regarding the building of the Russian state. As a result, the approaches to Russia's structure are so different that it is like two express trains rushing headlong toward each other.

Not wishing to fall behind the republic leaders, the kray and oblast leaders are becoming independent figures on Russia's political stage. The territories are putting forward one political initiative after another. But now, for the sake of preserving Russia's unity and indivisibility and having determined the means and limits of compromise for themselves, the kray and oblast leaders are appealing to their colleagues in the republics and inviting them to take part in a conference, which Novikov would prefer to be held in Nizhniy Novgorod, for example, rather than in Moscow.

A second Novo-Ogarevo? It is hardly appropriate to draw a direct comparison between the last months of the Soviet Union's existence and the present state of Russia, but there is an increasingly well reasoned, significant desire on the part of the regions to play a leading role in the building of the new Federation. Are local leaders confident that they are perfectly capable of reaching an agreement among themselves and trying without the federal leadership to find a formula of accord that can preserve Russia's integrity and, if possible, ease conflicts between the republics and the krays and oblasts? In answer to this question, Novikov said that present developments do indeed arouse strong associations with the second half of 1991. At that time, however, the Union center opposed the stand taken by the republics, whereas now the situation is reversed: Moscow and the Russian republics understand each other very well and the center is prepared to make considerable concessions in their favor. "I believe," Novikov said, "that the constitutional process must be protected against the divide and rule principle now advocated by the center. The toughness of the stand taken by the krays and oblasts will determine whether the republics listen to them or not. Agreement has already been reached on some fundamental issues with the heads of certain republics." Will the components of the Federation be able to work out a common stand and present it to the center? "Yes, I hope so," the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet chairman said.

And if not? How do Novikov and other leaders of the "Russian lands" intend to influence the leaders and parliaments of the republics which have already adopted declarations of sovereignty? Novikov says that, if the republics' sovereign status is approved, he will make every effort to ensure that Krasnoyarsk Kray also becomes a "sovereign state." "Russia's integrity is far dearer to me than such outwardly attractive, yet dramatic measures. But I have to protect the interests of the citizens living in the kray," Novikov said.

A session of the "Siberian Accord" interregional association will be held in Abakan on 9-10 July. It too will probably discuss the most important problems of Russia's state structure.

Local Leaders React to Urals Republic Plan

PM0907141193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Pashkov report: "Urals Republic Does Not Aspire to Sovereignty"]

[Text] Yekaterinburg—After announcing his decision to create the Urals Republic, Governor E. Rossel left for Latin America with representatives of nearby oblasts. Oblast Soviet Chairman A. Grebenkin set off for a working conference in Nizhniy Novgorod, where his colleagues from the Urals, Siberia, and the Volga are discussing the ins and outs of adopting the new constitution. Therefore the statement by the president's press secretary on suspending the formation of the Urals Republic found them on their travels. I managed to contact Grebenkin and ask him for his assessment of the statement from Moscow.

"First, it was not the president but his press secretary voicing an opinion," Anatoliy Viktorovich remarked. "At the same time he wrongly formulated his demands to the oblast soviet—there is nothing to suspend at present. No juridical action has happened. Under the existing constitution three conditions are necessary to enshrine the republic's status in legislation: the expression of the people's will, a decision of the oblast soviet, and a decision of the Congress. We received the consent of the oblast's inhabitants in the 25 April referendum. Having examined a protest by the oblast prosecutor's office over the legality of that poll, the Supreme Court recently acknowledged that we were right. It is now up to the Congress to decide. We intend to take no illegal actions. It is not a question of forming the Urals Republic as a component of the Federation. In our view, the oblast must possess the same rights economically and politically as the republics. We believe that relations among the components of the Federation of Russia must be built along territorial, not national lines."

In the opinion of A. Levin, press secretary to the head of Sverdlovsk Oblast Administration, Moscow's statement was to some extent a greater surprise than the proclamation of the Urals Republic. B. Yeltsin was informed of the results of the vote on this question by the people of Sverdlovsk Oblast. He advocated granting the oblast both economic and legislative initiative. Therefore the words in Kostikov's statement about some confederative intentions of the oblast are not quite comprehensible. Naturally, the oblast's leadership will take account of the president's proposal to defer the question until the next session of the Constitutional Conference.

Baturin on Proclamation of Yuzhno-Uralskaya Republic

LD0907183193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Yuriy Baturin, the Russian president's aide, described the proclamation of new republics within the Russian Federation, which is following one after another, as a political epidemic. In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent he commented on the proclamation of the Yuzhno-Uralskaya republic on the territory of Chelyabinsk oblast.

According to Yuriy Baturin, new republics within the Russian Federation may acquire a legal status only after their status is reconsidered in accordance with the federation treaties currently in force, and after the status of krays and oblasts is altered in a new Russian Constitution. That is why it is necessary to demand the upgrading of the Russian regions status within a sensible timeframe and in a sensible order, that is, as a part of the constitutional reform.

Tatarstan Speaker: Constitutional Team's Recall Forced

LD1207203893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Farid Mukhametshin, speaker of Tatarstan's parliament, said that the recall of the delegation of that republic from the constitutional conference was a forced measure. He stated this on 12 July, speaking at a session of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan. He noted that the amendments introduced by the delegation of his republic were completely ignored, and some of them were even not discussed. At the same time, stated Farid Mukhametshin, Tatarstan intends to continue searching for a new formula for bilateral relations with Russia, reports RIA.

Khabarovsk Leader: No Plans Exist To Proclaim Republic

LD1307112393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1040 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Rudak]

[Text] Khabarovsk July 13 TASS—First deputy chairman of the Khabarovsk territorial council Viktor Bodrov rejected reports which appeared on Monday [12 July] that the Khabarovsk territory was planning to proclaim itself a republic within the Russian Federation.

Bodrov told ITAR-TASS today that no such plans existed in the territorial council.

International Affairs

Supreme Council Views START Ratification

PM0907135993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul 93 p 3

[Grigoriy Nesmyanovich and Sergey Prokopenko report: "Money in the Morning, Disarmament in the Evening. Ukrainian Parliament Continues Insisting on Guarantees"]

[Text] You get the impression that ratification of the START I Treaty and joining the Nonproliferation Treaty have become for Ukrainian parliamentarians a kind of Rubicon which they will in no way be able to cross. The ratification question was raised in June for the umpteenth time. But it "did not pass." The situation now is similar.

The fact is that on 2 July deputies ratified the "Main Avenues of Ukrainian Foreign Policy," but during the vote a question arose about a point concerning Ukraine's nuclear status. The version proposed by the Foreign ministry states: "Ukraine will never sanction [nikogda ne sanktsioniruyet] the use of the nuclear weapons it has inherited from the former USSR." But the parliamentary Commission for International Affairs proposed the following version of this paragraph: "Ukraine, having acquired its own nuclear weapons for historical reasons, will never sanction their use."

Incidentally, Dmytro Pavlychko, the commission chairman, believes that, in voting for the new version, the deputies have fundamentally changed Ukraine's status. In Pavlychko's opinion this means that Ukraine is the owner of nuclear weapons. The Supreme Soviet's Commission for International Affairs considers it inexpedient to ratify the Lisbon Protocol, under which Ukraine joins the Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state.

It is thought that the reason for this was once again "Ukraine's dissatisfaction" with the position of Russia, the United States, and the other three permanent UN Security Council members on the question of providing it with security guarantees. Security guarantees mean a legal document that would rule out the possibility of military aggression by the signatory countries, territorial claims against Ukraine, or any attempt to exert economic pressure on it. That last point is unambiguously aimed at Russia. Ukraine's demand to obtain corresponding compensation for the nuclear and fuel components of the 176 missiles on its territory which are theoretically to be recycled [utilizirovany] at the manufacturers' plants—that is, on Russian soil—is also made once again.

Amazingly, not a single Ukrainian politician or republic newspaper are even attempting to couch the question in terms of what compensation Russia would demand for dismantling Ukrainian nuclear missiles that are in a critical condition from a technological standpoint (this particularly applies to the 130 RS-18's). It should not be forgotten that the time may come when neither country will any longer tackle the dismantling of dangerously unreliable [avariyniy] missiles.

It is typical that, following the parliamentary debate, the republic's Foreign Ministry immediately attempted to reassure its international partners. "Ukraine has a unique status: The republic is not a nuclear state, but it has nuclear weapons," Yuriy Serheyev, leader of the Foreign Ministry Press Service, stated during a Tuesday briefing in Kiev. According to him, the position of the republic's Foreign Ministry is that parliament should ratify the START I Treaty along with the Lisbon Protocol to the Nonproliferation Treaty in a single package. Serheyev believes that "we should not make the excuse that Ukraine is a nuclear state." But the Supreme Soviet takes a different view. And that view currently prevails.

Crimean Officials on Russian Sevastopol Resolution

LD1207142693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1409 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Lev Ryabchikov for TASS]

[Text] Simferopol July 12 TASS—The Presidium of the Crimean Parliament expressed a negative attitude to the Russian Parliament decision to proclaim Sevastopol Russian territory, but supported another decision of Russian lawmakers to keep the Black Sea Fleet united.

Crimean legislators also asked the Ukrainian Parliament to refrain from a hasty retaliation.

"The Supreme Soviet of the Crimea once again reiterates its position regarding the Black Sea Fleet and believes it should be preserved as a single combat formation securing common interests of Ukraine and Russia in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean basins", the Presidium of the parliament said in a statement on Monday calling on the Russian and Ukrainian presidents to return to the issue and solve it in the "interests of their states, the Crimea, Sevastopol and the Black Sea Fleet".

Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk had earlier agreed to share the fleet fifty-fifty.

The Crimean leaders also "drew the attention of the Russian Supreme Soviet to the fact that its decision on the status of Sevastopol was adopted in violation of the constitution of the republic" of Crimea.

Further consideration of the issues without Crimean and Sevastopol representatives is inadmissible, according to the statement.

Commenting on the document, Parliament Chairman Nikolay Bagrov and Crimean Prime Minister Boris Samsonov said at a press conference that they are against a hasty discussion of the status of Sevastopol in the Ukrainian Parliament. Most important now is to refrain from flaring up tensions, they said.

"We do not need to be involved into a new political situation which would impede the implementation of the programme of creating a regime of open economy in the republic" of Crimea, Bagrov said.

He assured reporters that the situation in the peninsula is under control and the fleet remains quiet.

The parliamentary presidium called on Ukraine, Russia and other CIS states to act as guarantors of stability in the Crimea.

Crimean Leader Protests Resolution

LD1207125593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Statement by N. Bagrov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Crimea, to unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] It is very regrettable that the Crimea is once again at the center of political events. The well-known decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has of course inflamed the atmosphere in the Crimea. I would like to say in this connection that, in making that decision, the Supreme Soviet held no consultations with the Supreme Soviet of the Crimea. Of course, the decision that was made is in violation of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea. We repeatedly invited the leaders of Russia and Ukraine to sit down at the conference table with representatives of Crimea and sort out the whole range of existing issues. In the resolution we have passed we have again reaffirmed our willingness to take part in such a meeting. At the same time, we certainly regard making such a decision without us as impermissible.

Sevastopol Authorities Appeal for Calm

LD1207195793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1916 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Stetsyuk for TASS]

[Text] Sevastopol July 12 TASS—The joint meeting of the Collegium of the heads of the City Council's Standing Commissions and the Collegium of the City State Administration today considered the situation in the city after the Russian Parliament passed a decision on Sevastopol's status.

All of the speakers were unanimous that the Russian Parliament's decision is of the declarative nature. Quite a number of proposals for a way out of the current situation were voiced. Specifically, some called for inviting members of the Ukrainian and Russian Supreme Soviet Presidiums to Sevastopol in order to reach a mutually acceptable solution.

Evidently, City Council Chairman Viktor Semenov and the Ukrainian president's representative in Sevastopol Ivan Yermakov will head to Kiev soon to hold consultations with President Leonid Kravchuk, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma.

The joint collegium adopted an appeal to the residents of Sevastopol and servicemen to display calmness and restraint.

An unauthorised rally of some 2,000 people took place on Nakhimov Square this evening. Its organisers announced that Russian people's deputies, intellectuals, and representatives of the public are expected to arrive in Sevastopol from Moscow on Thursday.

The Sevastopol National Salvation Front intends to hold a people's assembly on Nakhimov Square on Friday evening to elect a smaller city council. Eventually, the powers of this council will be endorsed by the Russian Parliament. The organisers of the rally stated that these are far from spontaneous actions and that the Russian legislature has a long-term action plan with regard to Sevastopol.

Participants in the rally adopted the appeals to the Sevastopol City Council, Crimean and Russian Supreme Soviets and Black Sea Fleet Commander Eduard Baltin demanding that the decisions passed by the Russian Supreme Soviet be fulfilled.

Authorities 'Taken Aback'

LD1207135593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Stetsuk for TASS]

[Text] Sevastopol July 12 TASS—Sevastopol authorities were taken aback by the decision of the Russian Parliament to proclaim the city Russian territory, however most residents welcomed the move, according to Ivan Yermakov, the representative of the Ukrainian president in the major base of the Black Sea Fleet.

He told reporters on Monday that "local authorities of Sevastopol did not expect such a turn of developments" and regretted that Russian lawmakers had not invited the leaders of the city administration to the session of the Russian Parliament.

He refused to give a political assessment to the decision adding the city authorities will most evidently express their attitude at today's meeting.

However, Yermakov admitted that many Sevastopol residents welcomed the decision of the Russian Parliament. He blamed Kiev for that, saying that Ukraine often ignores the solution of burning problems in the city, such as the issue of the language and dual citizenship.

Yermakov noted that Black Sea Fleet Commander Eduard Baltin and Ukrainian Navy Commander Borys

Kozhyn were requested to prevent the involvement of their personnel in political actions.

He added that local authorities believe the crisis can be solved through intensive political dialogue of the parliaments and presidents of Ukraine and Russia.

Opponents of Integration With Russia United

PM1307104193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[By Irina Pogodina: "Russian Parliament Decision on Sevastopol Contradicts Norms of International Law"]

[Text] Kiev—Official Kiev's reaction to the Russian Supreme Soviet's adoption of the decree on the federal status of Sevastopol was unanimous and to all appearances exactly what the document's authors expected. Interference in Ukraine's internal affairs and encroachment on its territorial integrity—these assessments were made almost simultaneously by President Leonid Kravchuk and the Supreme Soviet Presidium under the chairmanship of Speaker Ivan Plyushch.

And although the document has been deemed to have no legal force for Ukraine the supreme organs of power see no possibility of leaving it unheeded, which dictated the convening of the parliament session plenary sitting for 12 July. The task of the people's deputies was not so much to reject the assessments of the actions of their Russian Federation counterparts—assessments which no one doubted—as to retain control over the already complex situation in Ukraine, which the provocative statements by the fraternal country's supreme organ are heating to the extreme.

For if the first reaction to the news even from very balanced politicians questioned by journalists consisted of the words: "This is war" and it was only later that there followed, as in the official statements by the president and Supreme Soviet Presidium, assurances that Ukraine does not view the decision of the Russian parliament as the will of the Russian people, still less see here an attempt to "subordinate" the president to Russia—then we should not expect such reasonableness from the extreme nationalist circles. And that means the galvanization of the opponents of any integration of Ukraine with Russia, including economic integration. Therefore, the feasibility of elaborating and implementing the economic unity treaty signed by the premiers of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus is instantly put in doubt. The unfavorable link between the document on Sevastopol and the three countries' agreement is all the more obvious in that the Russian parliamentarians themselves link the implementation of their resolution with pressure on Ukraine through the well known economic credit issued by Russia to Ukraine.

The intention to make the city of Russian glory a hotbed of tension between the friendly countries, realized only at the second attempt (on the first occasion, when the Russian Federation supreme Soviet only intended to review the status of Sevastopol the moment obviously did not seem quite right since Ukraine was not yet so undermined economically), is all the more dangerous in that it indirectly provokes a complication of Ukraine's relations with the world community. Naturally, the actions of the Russian legislators consolidate the opponents of nuclear disarmament in Ukraine, and after the recommendations recently adopted by the G-7 that Kiev should not delay the ratification of START I and accession to the nonproliferation treaty, it is hard to hope that the West will resolutely act for Ukraine and against Russia on the Sevastopol issue, that is renounce one more lever of pressure on the unwanted member of the "nuclear club." At any rate, apart from the U.S. ambassador in Ukraine, not a single Western diplomat has voiced the opinion that in regards to Sevastopol, it is a question of the violation of international law and of territorial encroachments.

Naturally, the Sevastopol theme is also leaving its mark on the actions of the Ukrainian leaders, which are far from always coordinated. Thus, since the president criticized the prime minister's aim of introducing a state of emergency in the country, Leonid Kuchma has expressed himself even more toughly: Today Ukraine needs not simply a state of emergency but martial law.

Parties Call For 'Presidential Rule'

LD1207154293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Republican Party has described the resolution by the Russian Supreme Soviet on the status of Sevastopol as a provocation and has called for the introduction of direct presidential rule in the Crimea. The Democratic Party of Ukraine has backed up this statement.

Agreement With Russia on Oil Supplies, Payments

LD1207174693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] In accordance with a bilateral Ukrainian-Russian interstate agreement signed recently, Ukraine should pay $80 in the third quarter, $90 in the fourth quarter, and $100 in the first quarter of next year per ton of Russian oil. The monthly schedule for oil deliveries from Russia has been determined. As a whole our enterprises will receive 15 million tons by yearend. This will primarily be used for the fuel and energy complex. The agreement is valid from the date of its signing.

Kuchma, Estonia's Laar Discuss Cooperation

AU1207201993 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 8 Jul 93 p 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar by Mykhaylo Soroka in Kiev and Tallinn; date not given: "What Interests Estonians in Ukraine and Us in Estonia?"]

[Text] [Kuchma] There is much we can learn from Estonia. First, how to integrate into the European Community. Of course, this is a long process and it must be accomplished gradually.

Second, Estonia is advancing rather quickly along the road to market transformations. Suffice it to say that Ukraine is quite interested in introducing its own national currency, and Estonia has done this without any great losses. This experience is extremely interesting to us. We discussed with the Estonian prime minister the chances of acquiring this experience, training our specialists, and getting assistance from Estonian experts.

Third, we are rather close neighbors and it is no secret that we have many interests in common in the economic sphere. That is to say, we must develop cooperation with Estonia and build it on a new foundation. The prospects here are very encouraging.

[Laar] We are also interested in economic cooperation with Ukraine. In particular, we are interested in Ukrainian ports through which we can emerge onto the markets of the Black Sea and Azov regions. On the other hand, we are ready to promote the transit of Ukrainian goods through Estonia, so that your goods could pass to European markets. We are also interested in many Ukrainian manufactured goods and raw materials. It would, perhaps, be easier to list what does not interest us in Ukraine.

It would certainly be better if companies and firms could take the initiative in bilateral cooperation—they know better what they need and will find a common language faster. The task of our two states and governments is to promote contacts by creating a corresponding system of laws and agreements.

[Soroka] Mr. Prime Minister, you are among the youngest heads of government in Europe and in the world. Could you briefly tell the readers of URYADOVYY KURYER about your career?

[Laar] I am a historian by profession. I studied at Tartu University. I taught there for a certain period of time. I participated in the opposition movement and was dismissed from the university as a result. I worked as a schoolteacher for several years. In 1986, I became involved in political life and became a member of the Estonian Christian Democratic Union. In 1989, I was threatened with imprisonment for my studies of Estonian history during the period of its first occupation. I am presently leader of the Christian Democratic Party. This is, in short, my curriculum vitae.

[Soroka] Are you, as a historian, frightened by the economic, financial, and banking problems that your government has to deal with directly today?

[Laar] No, I am not. Look what has been done in the Estonian economy over the last year, and you will see that specialists in the humanities are sometimes able to do more than so-called Soviet experts.

* * *

However, on that day, after the business part of the Ukrainian delegation's visit, the Estonian prime minister had to make use of the skills that he acquired at university: He turned out to be an excellent guide during a short walk with Leonid Kuchma along the streets of old Tallinn.

Then, once more, we were looking at the panorama of the Estonian capital and the dark-blue Baltic skyline through the portholes of the aircraft bound for Vilnius.

Read all about the Ukrainian prime minister's visit to Lithuania in the next issue of URYADOVYY KURYER.

Moldovan Parliament Head Visits Odessa

PM1207105593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Milkus report: "Return, Odessa, Pearl of the Sea!"]

[Text] The visit by Petr Luchinskiy (also known as Petru Lucinschi), speaker of the Moldovan parliament, to Odessa Oblast (Ukraine) marked a new stage in relations between the two sovereign republics. Accompanied by the vice premier, the chairman of the parliamentary defense and security commission, and the ministers of internal affairs and national security, Petr Kirillovich went there to ascertain the fate of the wealthy resort complex in the village of Sergeyevka and several other sanatoriums built in the oblast using Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic money.

In addition, the Moldovan speaker discussed problems connected with rail communications between the republics and customs and border regimes, which are to help the two agricultural regions to cope better with the harvesting and processing of the crop. But clearly it was not just the economic problems that brought Luchinskiy here. His current program of busy political activity—before arriving in Odessa the speaker visited Bucharest—is also due to the fact that the former first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is surely hoping to make a comeback at future presidential elections.

Cooperation Agreement Negotiated With EC

LD0907202993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] On 8-9 July there were negotiations in Brussels between Ukraine and the European Community on concluding an agreement on partnership and cooperation. The principles concerning the development of a political dialogue between Ukraine and the European Economic Community were coordinated as a whole. The sides discussed the possible inclusion of provisions in the treaty that would result in Ukraine obtaining the status of a similar associated member, which would be ensured in practical terms. They managed to bring closer their stands concerning trade and economic cooperation in specific areas, in particular, trade in textiles, coal, steel, nuclear materials, and also agricultural produce. In addition, they were considering issues of developing finance and credit relations, as well as scientific and technical exchange. In summing up the results of the negotiations, Deputy Foreign Minister Makarenko, head of Ukraine's delegation, emphasized their meaningful and constructive nature. Ukraine has made yet another important step on the way toward integration into the European structures, he said.

Algerian Delegation Signs Trade Agreements

AU1307085693 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 8 Jul 93 p 3

[Statement by the Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of External Economic Ties: "Business Contacts With Algeria"]

[Text] **At the invitation of the Ukrainian government, an official Algerian delegation headed by Mr. Mustapha Mekraoui, minister delegate of trade of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, arrived in Ukraine on an official visit.**

In the course of the visit, Mustapha Mekraoui had talks with Ukraine's Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Landyk, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and members of the board of the Ukrainian Export-Import Bank. They signed agreements on the creation of a mixed Algerian-Ukrainian intergovernmental commission for questions of trade-economic and scientific-technological cooperation and on the promotion and mutual protection of investments, a protocol on mutual deliveries of goods, and an interbank agreement.

The delegations of the two countries exchanged information on possibilities of cooperation in such spheres as industry, mining and geology, hydraulic engineering, construction, agriculture, and oceanic fishery.

Having specified the framework of cooperation and having agreed upon concrete measures both for the near and more distant future, the sides agreed to exchange delegations of entrepreneurs and specialists representing various branches of the economy. Ukraine's participation in these branches may take diverse forms—joint enterprises, partnership, and direct investments. In particular, special interest was evinced in building an enterprise for processing Algerian phosphates to produce phosphoric acid.

At the end of the Algerian governmental delegation's visit, the signing of a trade agreement took place at Ukraine's Ministry of External Economic Relations. On behalf of Ukraine, it was signed by Minister of External Economic Relations Ivan Herts and, on behalf of Algeria, by Minister Delegate of Trade Mustapha Mekraoui.

"The economies of our two countries may complement one another in many spheres," stated Mr. Mekraoui. "Owing to this, a road is opening up toward broad bilateral cooperation."

On behalf of the Algerian leadership, Mekraoui extended an invitation to Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma to visit the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. The date of the visit will be coordinated through diplomatic channels.

Transport Agreements Signed With Iran

LD1107034893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] The Iranian and Ukrainian ministers of transport have signed a number of joint documents in Tehran on bilateral cooperation in the transportation field. In particular they reached an agreement on the use of the seaports of both countries and the opening in the near future of a direct air route between Tehran and Kiev. Ukraine agreed to grant Iran the right to transit cargo across its territory on the most preferential terms.

Tehran Radio emphasized that the signing of this agreement allows Iran to achieve the shortest land route to the European markets. Tehran Radio also indicated that Iran has signed similar agreements on transit with Azerbaijan and Russia.

National Affairs

Kuchma Supports Introducing 'Martial Law'

WS1307101893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 13 Jul 93

[Text] During his visit to Kherson Oblast, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma told reporters that the introduction of martial law is the only way to prevent the collapse of the economy. When asked whether the president shares his intentions, the prime minister said that he had not discussed this issue with the president. Leonid Kuchma said that "hopes for foreigners is a delusion. If we do not get down to work ourselves, the foreigners will walk out on us."

Ministry Prepares To Raise Energy Prices

AU1207203393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 8 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Price Hike Has Not Been Called Off?"]

[Text] Ukraine's economics minister has made a decision on raising the prices of natural gas by a factor of 2.2, thermal energy by a factor of 2.3, and electricity by a factor of 2 for all consumers, with the exception of the people and enterprises involved in the baking, meat, and dairy industries, irrespective of their position.

This has not only angered public opinion, but also the Ukrainian president. As reported by UKRINFORM, Kravchuk turned to [Prime Minister] Kuchma with a demand to consider this, submit a report, and punish those to blame.

We asked V. Pustovoytenko, minister in Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, to comment on the situation:

"In accordance with the Cabinet of Ministers' Decree of 3 June 1993, the Ministry of Power Engineering and Electrification and the State Committee for the Utilization of Nuclear Energy, in coordination with the Economics Ministry, are authorized to introduce changes no more frequently than once a month to adjust the prices to the level of rates for thermal and electric energy used by consumers (with the exception of the population), if the prices of organic and nuclear fuel rise by more than 20 percent."

That is to say, Ukraine's Economics Ministry took advantage of a legitimate right. Here, one has two options: Either raise prices or grant subsidies. There are no funds in the budget. However, the decision must be taken without delay, because, after all, the prices of energy supplied by Russia are rising and are already nearing those prevailing elsewhere in the world.

Press Service Reports Increase in Border Violations

AU1307105393 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 9 Jul 93 p 1

[Report by Major Anatoliy Samarchenko, representative of the Press Service of Ukraine's Border Troops: "The Offenders Have Changed Tactics—They Act in Groups of Almost One Hundred"]

[Text] There is a growing number of people trying to cross Ukraine's state border illegally. While in January 1993, the border guards detained 128 offenders, in June, the number was 870. Let us add, by comparison, that in June 1992, the corresponding figure was 119. This testifies to the fact that the situation at our country's state border is far from being quiet and that one can hardly expect an improvement in the near future.

An especially large number of offenders were detained at stretches of the Slovak, Polish, and Russian borders. Illegal migrants from southeastern Asia and the Near and Middle East account for 80 percent of the offenders. Whereas before, their actions were not always well coordinated, one can now feel that illegal migration across the territory of Ukraine is becoming organized and impertinent in character. In June, border guards detained groups of foreigners numbering between 30 and 90 persons. There were citizens of several countries within a single group.

Nor is there a decrease in the number of attempts to smuggle, across the border, weapons and raw materials for producing narcotics. Border guards have confiscated from citizens 71 units of firearms and gas weapons, numerous munitions, and more than 100 kg of narcotic substances.

The border guards have foiled numerous attempts to remove from Ukraine unlicensed materials, valuable raw materials, consumer goods, and foodstuffs. The border warriors have returned to the state almost 100 tonnes of sugar, 732 kg of copper, and radio equipment worth 52 million karbovantsi [K]. Altogether in June, the border guards seized contraband worth K632.5 million.

Belarus

Defense Minister Remarks on Russian Troop Withdrawal

LD1207204093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] The time period for the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Belarusian territory does not depend on the participation or non-participation of the republic in the CIS collective security system. This was stated by Belarusian Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy to a RIA agency correspondent.

He stressed that the question of the time period for the withdrawal of Russian subunits has already been agreed upon with the command of the Russian Air Force, as well as with the command of the strategic missile troops. Acccording to him, the withdrawal of the troops is supposed to be completed by 1995-96. A more definite date will become known after the respective agreement is signed between the Belarusian and the Russian Governments, Kozlovskiy stressed.

Defense Officials Discuss CIS Treaty, Corruption

LD1207204693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1715 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Today in Minsk in the Central Officers' House, Defense Minister Pavel Kazlovskiy and military procurator Anatoliy Glyukov held a news conference on the issues of military construction and the fight against offenses in the Belarusian army. Pavel Kazlowski once more drew attention to the issue of Belarus joining the treaty on collective security within the framework of the CIS. He disagreed with the idea that allegedly nothing is being done in the army to fight corruption and other negative phenomena.

Kazlowski also spoke against the commercialization of the army. However, according to him, the Belarusian army now simply has no other way out—the government has allocated for its military program only half of the resources needed.

Institute Director on Reform, Ties With Russia

WS1307101293 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 1 Jul 93 p 3

[Article by newspaper correspondents Anatol Slaneyski and Ihar Shchuchanka: "Belarus Is Facing a Dilemma: Which Way To Follow?"]

[Text] We have three possible variants: To abandon Russia, to create a confederation with Russia, or to combine the two variants together, rejecting the old ineffective methods and preserving the constructive approaches, Candidate of Economy Lew Krukaw, director of the Research Economic Institute at the State Economic Planning Committee of Belarus, said.

The main topic of the conference, in which Krukaw's colleagues from the Research Institute also participated, was scientific support for the economic reforms in Belarus. The discussion has caused great interest: It is a pity but we have never had the chance to learn about the first Republican research in the sphere of economic reforms and to find out whether the Belarusian Government has its own conception of the transition to the market.

Therefore, what do the scientists think about the current socioeconomic situation in Belarus? In short, the crisis is deepening. The inner factors—the sluggish creation of the market relations and the too mild limitation of the monopolists, the slow tempo of the structural reconstruction, the liberalization of the prices without corresponding demonopolization of the production, the inefficient executive bodies, the lack of an efficient system of state regulation of the economy—have provoked the economic depression.

So, how can we survive? As Lew Krukaw has put it, the most important thing is to speed up the denationalization and privatization of property; to create a market infrastructure; to maintain and bolster the scientific and technical potential of the Republic; to restructure the production and economic potential in correspondence with the needs of the population, the national economy, the local resources, CIS, and world market conditions; to speed up the development of the consumption, high-tech, and export spheres of production. One of the essential tasks is to resolve the employment issues under the conditions of constantly growing unemployment.

The scientists gave a detailed breakdown of the fundamental research on the above issues.

We cannot resolve these problems alone. What will become of Belarus if it leaves the economic union with Russia? This was the question put by Lew Krukaw. He answered this question himself: Belarus does not have a competitive economy. Our industry can satisfy only 4 percent of the Republican production (for comparison: Russia—65 percent, Kazakhstan—27 percent, Ukraine—15 percent, Baltic States—some 1 percent). In addition, we have no time and no possibilities for performing experiments. Only Russia, which is rich in all kinds of natural resources, can perform experiments, Lew Krukaw added.

In response to the question from a ZVYAZDA correspondent on how expedient it is to introduce the Belarusian national currency and if it will be at all possible in the near future, Lew Krukaw answered: We have discussed the expediency of the introduction of the national Belarusian currency. In our opinion, it must be introduced in the Republic. On the other hand, the question is—when must it be done? This is directly connected with the world prices. Currently, we are cooperating with Russia and we depend on Russian prices on raw materials and energy resources. Today we pay 30 percent of the world price for Russian oil and 20 percent for

Russian gas. Once the national currency is introduced, Russia will carry out its accounts on the basis of world prices. Belarusian goods are currently sold in the CIS market at prices which are close to and sometimes identical to or even higher than the world prices. The gap between the prices of Belarusian goods and the world prices on similar goods is much lower than the gap between the world and Russian prices on raw materials and energy resources. Therefore, we think that we do not need to hurry and should introduce our national currency only after Russia establishes world prices in our bilateral trade. Now we have to speed up the Belarusian-Russian negotiations as much as possible to obtain economic benefits.

Armenia

Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Situation, Negotiations

Battles Make Rafaelli Trip Impossible

NC1207093793 Yerevan SNARK in English 0830 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Stepanakert, July 12 (SNARK)—Mario Raffaelli is supposed to visit Stepanakert today.

It is expected that Mario Raffaelli, a chairman of the Minsk CSCE conference, will come to Karabakh through the territory of Azerbaijan, from Agdam. But the Karabakh State Committee of Defense told SNARK this tour is impossible because of the battles in Agdam- Askeran region.

No information on the new tour to provide security for the mission.

Yesterday Mario Raffaelli had negotiations with the Armenian leadership in Yerevan, then he left Yerevan for Baku.

Situation 'Relatively Peaceful'

NC1207211493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Mario Raffaelli, chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference, has arrived in the region at the head of a delegation. The talks he has held in Baku and Yerevan and the preparations he has made to hold talks in Stepanakert have created the hope that a new step will be taken toward the settlement of the problem in the Caucasus. However, the situation continues to be unstable. A significant tension exists in all the front lines. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the number of intensive combat operations has decreased during the past two days. The clashes between the two sides have been mainly in the form of positional fighting.

According to the NKR Defense Headquarters, the situation in the battlefronts was relatively peaceful the previous night and yesterday morning. Exchanges of fire took place close to Askeran and Agdam from time to time. However, the operative situation remained unchanged.

Obviously, Mario Raffaelli's visit has had a bearing on the situation to a certain extent. As usual, the NKR self-defense units refrain from firing first. They only retaliate to silence Azerbaijan's military positions, which fire on the residential areas close to NKR's border with various types of arms. Meanwhile, a significant incident has not occurred in the vicinity of the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon. The traffic in that corridor is moving without obstruction. The corridor is used to transfer peaceful commodities to the people of Artsakh [Nagorno- Karabakh], commodities that are in short supply in the NKR. Meanwhile, the Armenians, who have become refugees as a result of Azerbaijan's aggression, return to their ancestral homes through that corridor every day. The NKR officials are giving them the assistance they need to resettle.

Tension has continued on a large part of the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan during the past two days. However, a serious incident has not occurred. The tension was mostly felt in the border areas in Gorisskiy, Tavushskiy, and Idzhevanskiy Rayons. According to the Armenian Ministry of Defense Information Service, the Armenian defense positions around [place name indistinct] and Kornidzor in Gorisskiy Rayon were fired at on the previous night. Meanwhile, the residential areas close to the border in Tavushskiy Rayon were fired on from Tauzskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan with tanks and missile launchers on the same night. The enemy abandoned its provocative activities when the defense units in Gorisskiy and Tavushskiy Rayons returned the fire. An exchange of fire took place close to Kirand in Idzhevanskiy Rayon on the same night. No one was wounded on the Armenian side in the incidents.

Undoubtedly, the forces, which embark on provocative activities in Azerbaijan, are not interested in the establishment of stability and the removal of the existing tension between the two sides. Nevertheless, their provocative activities also create tension in Azerbaijan itself. In view of that, Azerbaijan must be the first to move to end the provocative activities in its territory.

Vice President Visits U.S. for 'Pan-Armenian Fund'

NC0907171893 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1625 GMT 8 Jul 93

[Text] The Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan left for the United States to organize the activities of the "Armenia" pan-Armenian fund there.

Manushak Petrosyan, director of the executive board of the fund, is accompanying Arutyunyan on his visit.

Ethnic Russians Drafted Into Russian Army

PM1307103193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jul 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Denisov report under the "From Our Newsdesk" rubric: "Not Only Russians Will Be Serving Under Russian Banners"]

[Text] Eight hundred and twelve youths have taken the Russian oath in units of a combined unit of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus stationed in Armenia. Almost 80 percent of the young recruits are youths from the republic's Russian-speaking population.

The draft of Armenia's ethnic Russians into the Russian Army was made possible by the agreement reached by the two countries' leaderships.

Azerbaijan

Raffaelli Visits Agdam, Returns to Baku 12 Jul

NC1207201593 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Mario Raffaelli, chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference, left Baku for Agdam at about midday today. Major General Beckman, CSCE's special representative and head of the observers group that will be deployed at the front; Mahmud al-Sa'id, UN permanent representative in Azerbaijan; Albert Salamov, deputy foreign minister; and other officials accompanied him. The helicopter, which took them to Agdam, landed close to a cotton field near [placename indistinct]. The officials were welcomed by the leading officials and military pesonnel in Agdamskiy Rayon.

Mario Raffaelli and the officials, who accompanied him, observed the tragic outcome of the war. The guests witnessed with their own eyes the destruction caused by the Armenian occupation in the towns and [words indistinct] the thousands of women, children, and elderly people who [words indistinct].

The guests were informed during the brief meeting that was held at the rayon executive authority that 15 towns in Agdamskiy Rayon were occupied as a result of Armenia's aggression. The enemy maintains is controll on 12 of those towns. More than 60,000 people were displaced from their homes in the rayon. The damage caused in the rayon as a result of the Armenia's attacks during the past month total nearly 157.5 billion rubles. Nearly 100 troops were killed, 500 troops were wounded, and 50 men were taken prisoner during that period. Several of the prisoners were peaceful citizens.

Mario Raffaelli and the members of his delegation also concerned themselves with the outcome of the aggressor's attacks during the past few days. Raffaelli said at a meeting that his main objective was to find a way to end the war so that important steps can be taken toward establishing peace in the region. He also said that he held talks with Armenian leaders on 11 July. Raffaelli asserted that he will travel to Tbilisi on 13 July and then visit Khankendi [Stepanakert]. He also said that he is convinced that he will be able to receive a guarantee so that he can make the trip.

The guests visited the remains of the [words indistinct], the trade center, and the bakery in the city center, which are close to the building that houses the Agdam City Executive Authority and that have been destroyed by artillery fire. One of the enemy artillery shells destroyed a part of the building that houses the grain products complex. A worker was killed and seven others were wounded in that attack. Bread had to be brought to the rayon's people from Baku for five days.

The guests visited the section of the railway tracks, which were destroyed by artillery fire at 1545 yesterday. The station was destroyed by artillery fire. A freight car was derailed and two people were killed in that attack. The guests complied with a suggestion by the military personnel and visited Moganly, which was recently liberated from enemy occupation. Rafaelli did not wish to visit that town. The guests witnessed the atrocities committed by the Armenians in Moganly, which looks like a dead town.

Mario Raffaelli and his delegation returned to Baku after familiarizing themselves with Agdam for three hours today. State Adviser Vefa Kulizade welcomed them in Baku.

Unable To Reach Karabakh

LD1207185993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1843 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Baku July 12 TASS—Mario Raffaelli, chairman of the CSCE Minsk group of countries for Nagorno-Karabakh failed to visit the enclave as scheduled on Monday [12 July] and plans to make another attempt on Tuesday.

According to well-informed sources, Raffaelli had to return back to Baku from the Azeri city of Agdam because Armenians failed to ensure safety of his delegation on the way from Agdam to Stepanakert which Azeris call Khankendi [Stepanakert].

He told reporters that he plans to reach Nagorno-Karabakh via Georgia on Tuesday and that an itinerary has been agreed with Azerbaijan.

In Karabakh Rafaelli hopes to receive guarantees for the implementation of the peace plan.

It became known that upon his return from Karabakh to Baku Rafaelli will announce the agreed terms of Armenian pullout from the Azeri region of Kelbajar. According to preliminary reports, the withdrawal is to begin on July 16.

Upon his return to Baku on Monday the diplomat held a closed-door meeting with Acting President and Parliament Speaker Geydar Aliyev who he thanked for ensuring safety of his delegation during the trip to Agdam.

Before the meeting he told reporters that the trip to Agdam was useful, but that the war had resulted in grave consequences for the city. He called to "freeze" hostilities to avoid further damages.

The most grim impression Rafaelli experienced in Agdam because of ruined settlements and sufferings of the people who have to live in tents outside the city for safety reasons.

Aliyev Negotiates With Alikram Gumbatov

LD1207134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1310 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Jamil Kuliyev]

[Text] Baku, July 12 (TASS)—Acting President of Azerbaijan and Speaker of the Azeri Supreme Soviet Geydar Aliyev has been in negotiations for four hours with Alikram Gumbatov, who seized power in Lenkoran (southern Azerbaijan) in mid-June.

In a brief interview with journalists following the completion of the negotiations Gumbatov said that the themes of the talks were the future of Azerbaijan, the government's economic and personnel policy and the situation on the front—issues on which there were no differences of opinion between the two leaders. The only disagreement was on questions of administrative and territorial administration.

Gumbatov is pressing for the convocation of a session of the Azeri Supreme Soviet which he says is necessary because "300 members of the National Assembly are not in a position to run the republic." The negotiations will continue and will be trilateral—with the participation of Prime Minister of the republic Suret Guseynov, who is still with the troops on the front with Armenia.

Gumbatov, 45, is former comrade-in-arms of President Abulfaz Elchibey, then became a Social Democrat and is now member of the "Party for Equal Rights of the People of Azerbaijan" which was established in March of this year.

Elchibey Comments on 'Propaganda Campaign'

LD1207205893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] A statement of Abulfaz Elchibey, chairman of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, which says that lately the republican authorities have launched a propaganda campaign to compromise the Popular Front, was circulated today in Baku. Elchibey stresses that the new Azerbaijani leaders, who are suffering failure in the military and the economic sphere, are trying to put the blame for what is happening on the Popular Front. The chairman of this movement warned that the responsibility for the circulation and the possible consequences of such provocative fabrications lies on the ruling regime, the Turan news agency reports.

Georgia

Reportage on, Reaction to Developments in Abkhazia

Sigua, German Envoy View Russian Involvement

LD0907184293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] Today Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua met with Guenter Dalhoff, German ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia. The conversation first dealt with the issue of Abkhazia. The ambassador said that during their visit to Sukhumi, Russian Ambassador Zemskiy did not deny the fact that Russia had been helping the Abkhazian side with military equipment and foodstuffs lately. He remarked, however, that this help was rendered by so-called corrupt officers.

"I was positively impressed by Giorgi Karkarashvili and Tamas Nadareishvili," the ambassador said. "But I am seriously concerned about Shevardnadze's pessimism in connection with Moscow talks. It is difficult to comprehend Moscow's policy."

Tengiz Sigua said that the time has come when we have to speak openly about the Russian issue for Russia is no longer disguising its attitude towards Abkhazia. As from 2 July tens of thousands of shells were dropped over Sukhumi and even the simplest analysis shows that Russia is supplying the Abkhazian side with military equipment.

Then, the conversation touched upon credits allocated by Germany to Georgia and it was emphasized that these million marks will be used in the production and processing of agricultural products. This will allow us to produce stuff even for export. As for another credit which implies 5 million marks, it will be used to import essential foodstuffs to Georgia.

Decree Bans Media Leaks

LD1007170693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 10 Jul 93

[Text] A decree by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia on urgent measures to secure military and state secrets in the mass media has been passed in connection with martial law in the Abkhazian region.

In order to avoid the leakage of state and military secrets during the coverage of combat operations by the mass media, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia decrees: SAKINFORM must be committed to preparing daily general material depicting military activities. Their issue and publication in the mass media must be made under the heading: SAKINFORM INFORMS.

In cases of urgent need the mass media can accredit their correspondents in the zone of combat activities only after acquiring authorization from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Georgia.

Materials related to combat activities can be broadcast and published only by permission of the press service of the Defense Ministry or the State Inspectorate of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers on Securing Secrecy in the Mass Media.

When preparing materials to be made public, heads of press, television, radio, publishing houses and other mass media must strictly abide by the requirements of the list of items prohibited for publication issued by the State Inspectorate on Securing Secrecy.

The Information and Intelligence Service and the Georgian Republic Procurator's Office must act against any leakage of state and military secrets.

[Signed] Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua

Sukhumi Residents Appeal to UN

LD1207202193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Today, the population of Sukhumi officially appealed to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, saying that a single- minded barbarous extermination of the population of different nationalities of Sukhumi is being carried out under the camouflage of combat actions. As the result of bombings, the number of casualties is growing astronomically. We, the civilians of Sukhumi, irrespective of our nationalities and political views, the address says, appeal to you and the world public to forbid bombing Sukhumi and not to let such crimes against humanity happen again.

Abkhaz Forces Continue Advance

LD1307074393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0730 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Zurab Argun]

[Text] Gudauta July 13 TASS—The Abkhazian Defence Ministry reported on Tuesday [13 July] that Abkhazian troops continue their advance on the Shroma-Sukhumi direction. Establishing control over nearby hills, Abkhazian Armed Forces defeated a group of Georgian troops behind the village of Shorma.

Georgian troops suffering losses in manpower and materiel, retreated. The Abkhazian Army also suffered casualties.

According to the same source, fighting continued in Abkhazia's east, at a stretch of the Sukhumi-Ochamchira highway. Abkhazian troops inflicting surprise strikes interfere with restoring destroyed bridges at several sections of the highway.

The traffic on the highway is insignificant, the Abkhazian Defence Ministry claimed. It is impossible to restore power transmission lines in the next ten days.

Shevardnadze: Russia Key to Settlement

LD1307100493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0912 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 Jul—Russia has the commanding role in stabilizing the situation in Abkhazia, believes Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian head of state. "The keys to the settlement of the conflict in the autonomous republic lie with Moscow. I cannot ignore international organizations. They have been incapable, however, of having a significant effect on the situation in Abkhazia," said Shevardnadze, speaking at a sitting of the Georgian parliament today.

Estonia

Delegation Head Holds News Conference in Moscow

WS1207122793 Tallinn BNS in English 1200 GMT 10 July 93

[Text] Moscow, July 10, BNS - Estonia hopes shortly to remove tension in the Russian-Estonian relations, the minister Juri Luik, the leader of the Estonian delegation at the negotiations with Russia, announced at a press conference in Moscow.

He reminded that on July 8 the Estonian parliament conducted an emergency session to discuss amendments of the European experts to the decree on aliens which aroused a negative reaction on the part of the local Russian-speaking community and Russia's leadership.

In Luik's words, numerous changes have been introduced into the decree the aim of which is to guarantee the existing rights to residents which are not Estonia's citizens, to prevent any legal uncertainties and approximate interpretations of the decree's provisions. The document also includes the understanding "status of persons without citizenship and refugees" which will be more precisely determined by another decree.

Luik also pointed out that the Estonian government undertakes certain moves to bring into life wishes of the CSCE High Commissioner on national minorities Max van der Stoel voiced by him on April 1993, the essence of which is to clarify the demands on exams in the Estonian language and to abolish any barriers to solicit for citizenship. The minister also reported that a Representative Assembly of the Russian-speaking population was registered in Estonia and a session of "a round table" represented by national minorities is scheduled for July 10. President Lennart Meri intends to attend the session.

Luik expressed his hope that these positive moves of the Estonian party would find response on the part of Russia. Mentioning the issue on the referendum on national-territorial autonomy of Narva, a large industrial center in Estonia's northeast inhabited predominantly by the Russian-speaking population, the minister reported that at present the Estonian government has no concrete plan of actions.

However, he reported referring to the chairman of the Narva city Council Vladimir Chuikin that the city council is ready to subordinate to the decision of the Estonian Supreme Court. To this effect he does not rule out a possibility to consider the issue on the referendum in Narva scheduled for July 16-17 by Estonia's Supreme Court.

At the same time Luik believes that economic difficulties present the major reason of tension which has appeared in Estonia's north-east region densely populated with the Russian-speaking population. He presented data of sociological opinion polls which assert that the Estonian government enjoys greater support of the Narva residents than the city council.

Comments Before Tallinn Talks

LD1307082293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0648 GMT 13 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn July 13 TASS—A two-day round of Russian-Estonian talks begins here today amid mixed sentiments. Estonian delegation leader Juri Luik said on the eve of the talks that he hoped "reason will prevail and delegation members will not succumb to the aggravation of relations between Russia and Estonia caused by the Estonian law "on foreigners". (under the law, the non-indigenous inhabitants of the republic, mostly Russian-speakers, are likely to find themselves in a position of second-rate citizens).

Luik told journalists that he would raise the question about Russia's role in the referenda on national-territorial autonomy for the cities of Narva and Sillameae scheduled for July 16 and 17.

The local media report that Russian delegation leader Vasily Svirin said in a statement that these referenda "are Estonia's strictly internal affairs".

Before the talks began, pickets gathered in front of the Russian Embassy here to urge "the restoration of Estonia's territorial integrity within the 1920 boundaries". The action organised by the Petserimaa public organisation is intended to bolster the organisation's call for the incorporation of Russia's Pskov region in Estonia.

President 'Ratified' Amended Law on Foreigners

WS1307112693 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1829 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Tallinn, July 12— Estonia's President on Sunday [11 July] ratified the amended law on aliens which was passed by the Riigikogu on July 8, the President's spokesman told ETA.

EC Welcomes Amendments to Law

LD1207153793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] A European Community statement on Estonia has arrived at the republican president's office and says the following: The EC and its member countries welcome the amendments made to the Law on Foreigners by the Riigikogu that follow the recommendations made by the Council of Europe, the CSCE, the EC, and its member countries. The amendments constitute a considerable improvement on the law. This political step demonstrates Estonia's adherence to democratic principles, readiness for a political dialogue, and a wish to lessen the confrontation between the nationality groups in Estonia and neighboring countries.

The EC and its member countries wish to support this approach. Moreover, it could serve as an example to countries where solutions are being sought to similar problems. The EC and its member countries hope that the success achieved in Estonia will deepen the dialogue toward resolving other problems.

Government Assures CSCE Commissioner on Treatment of Foreigners

LD1207144593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1434 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn July 12 TASS—The Estonian Government intends to develop relations with the republic's Russian community in the spirit of friendship and cooperation, hoping that it, in turn, will show loyalty to the Estonian republic, the Estonian Government told CSCE High Commissioner for the Affairs of Ethnic Minorities Max van der Stoel.

In addition, the Estonian Government "categorically assured" the CSCE representative that "it does not intend to begin pursuing the policy of driving Russian-speakers out of Estonia." The European diplomat was also promised that the government will begin "to explore opportunities for making easier the naturalization of non-citizens who were nominated candidates for deputies of local self-governing bodies," elections to which will be held this autumn.

The Estonian Government stated that it would not resort to force to stave off the referenda in Narva and Sillamae, which are scheduled to take place on July 16 and 17 and which the Estonian authorities recognised as unconstitutional.

During a meeting with Van der Stoel, representatives of the Russian community in Estonia assured him of their respect of Estonia's Constitution and its territorial integrity and also of their readiness for a constitutional dialogue with the government.

Foreign Ministry Condemns Russian Attempt To Nullify Treaty

WS1307112393 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0702 GMT 13 Jul 93

[From 13 July PAEVALEHT, p 3,1]

[Text] Tuesday, July 13—Yesterday the Presidium of Russian Supreme Council approved the draft decision assigning the President of Russia and the Government the task to make a motion at the session of the Supreme Council to declare null and void the peace treaties concluded with Estonia and Latvia in 1920. Foreign Ministry of Estonia sees that move as a dangerous attempt to destabilize the relations between the two states. The Treaty of Tartu of 1920 is an internationally recognized legal basis of the relations between Russia and Estonia and its annulment will entail complicated juridical and political consequences. The Foreign Ministry still hopes the Russian leadership will understand its political responsibility and meet the pledges given erstwhile.

National Salvation Front 'Ready To Dispatch' Troops

WS1307112193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0702 GMT 13 Jul 93

[From 13 July PAEVALEHT, p 3]

[Text] Tuesday, July 13—National Salvation Front of Russia made a statement declaring that it was ready to dispatch to Estonia some paramilitary troops if the Government of Estonia would attempt to exert forceful pressure to the Russian community there. Leader of the Russian National-Republican Party Mr. Nikolay Lysenko said that the National Salvation Front had 20,000 volunteers ready to carry out punitive expeditions to the neighboring states to defend the rights of their kinsfolk. Lysenko's own party also belongs to the Front. He said, however that his party only advised the volunteers and had no responsibility for the formation thereof.

First Part of Gas Debt Paid to Russian Enterprise

LD1207165193 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Estonia has paid the first part of its gas debt owed to the Lentransgas enterprise, a subsidiary of the Russian Gazprom concern.

The economic director of the gas company [name indistinct] told the Baltic News Service that Estonia has paid 5.5 million Deutschmark of the debt. The second part of the debt is supposed to be transferred by 1 August, according to a payment schedule submitted last month. The debt was paid on time, using (?a) short term loan from the Swedish Export Credit Bank and the money from the payment made by the Estonian client [as heard].

Russia temporarily cut off gas supplies for Estonia last month because of the debt, but resumed the supplies after Estonia announced a payment schedule.

Germany To Aid Normalization of Russian-Estonian Ties

LD1207165893 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Excerpt] German President Richard von Weizsaecker has said that Germany plans to use its close contacts with Russia and Estonia to help normalize the tense relations between the two countries.

Speaking on his current visit to Estonia, von Weizsaecker said today that Germany wishes to help Estonia and positively influence the development of relations between Estonia and Russia. Weizsaecker emphasized that Germany will not try to become the third part [as heard] of the inter-state negotiations, but will simply try to coordinate its relations and contacts on both sides. [passage omitted]

Ready To Help Integration Into Europe

LD1207120093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1140 GMT 12 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn July 12 TASS—Germany is prepared to help Estonia in its search of ways of joining the democratic European Community, German President Richard von Weizsaecker told a news conference in Tallinn today.

The visiting German president called on Estonia to integrate all non-indigenous inhabitants and give them access to the political life of society.

Touching on relations between Russia and Estonia, Richard von Weizsaecker expressed hope that Russia would stick to the conditions of withdrawal of its troops from the Baltics to which it agreed in Helsinki a year ago.

The visit of the German president is to end today. He has met the Estonian president and other officials and is planning to meet representatives of the Estonian Russian-speaking community before leaving.

NATO Commander Visits Defense Forces Headquarters

WS1307102693 Tallinn BNS in English 1900 GMT 12 Jul 93

[Text] Tallinn, July 12, BNS—General Garry Johnson, the commander in chief of NATO's North-European Armed Forces, arrived in Estonia for a three-day visit, said the defense ministry's press service.

Johnson met today with the staff at the Estonian defense forces headquarters.

He meets Tuesday [13 July] with the parliament's state defense commission members, the commander of the Estonian defense forces, Aleksander Einseln, and the ambassadors of the NATO countries to Estonia.

He will also visit the Kalevi infantry battalion.

Johnson continues his talks with Estonian defense leaders Wednesday.

GDP Figures Published; Economy 'Recovering'

WS1207122993 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 1700 GMT 9 Jul 93

[Text] July 5-11, 1993—Estonia's gross domestic product last year, 14 billion kroons, dropped 13 percent from the year before, but state statistics personnel are wiping their brows with relief. Aarne Tihemets, head of the statistics department's macro economics division, says the 13 percent drop is "splendid." It could have been as much as 30 percent, he said.

The GDP decreased by 6 percent in the first quarter of this year, and only a 2 percent drop is predicted by the end of the year.

That means Estonia's economy is recovering from its depression, said Tihemets, but Estonia is not likely to reach the 1989 GDP level before 2002.

This is the first time the Statistics Department has publicized Estonia's GDP figures.

Tihemets said the increase in the GDP is based on the restructuring of the economy. The service sector, which accounted for 30 percent of the national economy in 1992, is expected to grow to 38 percent of the economy. Industrial and agricultural production will obviously remain low, he said.

Another method for increasing the GDP figures, he said, is to take into account the profits made by the shadow economy, which so far amounts to about 20 percent of the GDP.

Lithuania

German Paper Views 'Relapse Into Communism'

AU1207202593 Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 8 Jul 93 p 6

[Wolf Schmiese report: "Unrequited Love Is Not Advisable"]

[Text] Vilnius—What aftershocks are there from Lithuania's rebirth? After the election of a former Communist Party leader as president, is there the danger of an ideological relapse into communism? Gediminas Vagnorius does not want to go that far. As opposition leader and former prime minister, he nevertheless thinks that the change in power from Vytautas Landsbergis to Algirdas Brazauskas in March is a disaster. With a slight smile, the pale intellectual claims that the economic deterioration of the country began with the parliamentary elections in November 1992. By then, 50 percent of state industries had been privatized, but since the change in government the conversion of the state enterprises has been stalled. Vagnorius believes that he is thus able to prove that the ex-communist Brazauskas supports the market economy only half-heartedly. All in all, two-thirds of the state property should be put into private hands. This is a seemingly excellent analysis by the economist, which, however, ignores one important aspect: Just as the German Trust Agency learned, the first half of state industries can be privatized more easily than the putrefying rest. The raisins—there were not many of them in Lithuania anyway—have been picked out. What remains are the left-overs, which no one wants to buy.

Vagnorius does not understand such arguments. He, who founded the "Fatherland Association" together with Landsbergis in May and is trying to win over the conservative part of the Sajudis (Popular Front for Independence) followers, thinks that privatization is the miracle word. The result of the new hesitant economic policy is a nationwide decline in production by an average of 25 percent. In the Kaunas rayon, on the other hand, everything has been privatized and production has remained stable.

If Lithuania really is to become an EC member by the year 2000, as Vagnorious boldly predicts, it must break away from its economic dependence on Russia. So far, it has been conducting 60 percent of its trade with the powerful neighbor in the east. "In 1994 it is to be only 40 percent," the opposition leader says, "and, instead, Germany is to be our new partner."

"At the moment, our market is in Russia," President Algirdas Brazauskas counters realistically. Since his country gets four-fifths of the raw materials from the East and exports only 10 percent to the West, the dependence on Russia is clear. These figures are the basis for the need to have a relationship without tensions with the Russians. "We would like to increase our exports to the West, but this cannot be done overnight. In many places we are not yet known; we also do not know how we are supposed to look for partners," the president admits. Still, he is certainly no friend of the Russians. Even though relations have improved since Yeltsin came to power, the situation in Russia is more unstable than in Lithuania. Therefore, it is important that no Russian soldiers will be in the country in three months. In the president's view, however, a strong economy is the best guarantee of security.

Brazauskas thinks that a defense policy integration in NATO would be rather sensitive at the moment, because "unrequited love is not advisable in view of our geographical situation." What else? "A regional security federation, in which both NATO and the CIS should be integrated." This idea corresponds to Brazauskas's nature. In domestic policy, too, he sees himself as a reconciler and thus explains his wonderful 60-percent election success. Among the 3.7 million people, who are largely Catholic, there is a profound desire for forgiveness and reconciliation. Brazauskas thinks that he met with approval from the voters because he opposed thinking in terms of friends and foes. "I am against dividing people into good and evil. I want to reconcile all of them and talk to all of them. Quite often, as in the case of the KGB structures, it is difficult to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent."

This athletic, frank giant of a man is defended by the German side. Bonn's ambassador to Vilnius, Reinhard Kraus, criticizes Landsbergis's economic policy with extraordinary frankness. The land reform following the principle "return before compensation" was carried out too hastily: "Now the damage is done." Because of the—juridically correct—return of the land to the old owners, many fields now lie fallow. Brazauskas is honestly trying to remedy his predecessor's failed policy—a relapse into communism need not be feared. "Bonn has now reason to give Lithuania advice," Kraus says. "In the case of Estonia and Latvia, where things are different, we do that." This praise stresses Lithuania's progress on the path toward democracy as well as the minority policy toward Russians, Poles, and Jews, which is also praised by the ambassador.

Prime Minister Optimistic About Ties With Poland

WS1307071493 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jul 93 p 1, 21

[Interview with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius by Maja Narbutt: "Let's Sit at the Table"; place and date on interview not given]

[Text] [Narbutt] Our paper has already asked this question to your predecessors: Why are Polish-Lithuanian relations so bad?

[Slezevicius] It is difficult to talk about the past. Why has our political cooperation not improved to this day? Why do we not have a trade agreement? I think that all the necessary conditions are in place to make up for lost time. We are ready for that.

[Narbutt] What should be the first move?

[Slezevicius] A meeting of the Polish and Lithuanian prime ministers. I communicated such a request through the Polish ambassador, and so far, I have not received any answer. However, I hope that this meeting will eventually take place.

[Narbutt] Do you not think that the Polish-Lithuanian treaty should be the first issue to be addressed? We have been negotiating it for a long time now—and to no effect.

[Slezevicius] That is correct. Contacts through diplomatic channels, talks carried on and dragged out by the ambassadors for months—all this is not enough. We should drop this antiquated pattern. To begin a genuine dialog, we have to meet, sit at the table, and talk.

[Narbutt] However, the fact that the treaty has not yet been signed seems to testify to profound differences in positions of Poland and Lithuania rather than the lack of negotiations. The Lithuanian draft includes a censure of the operation of Zeligowski [which resulted in the incorporation of the Vilnius region into Poland], which cannot be accepted by Poland. This is all the more surprising because shortly after he took office, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas stated that one should not look back in the past in Polish-Lithuanian relations.

[Slezevicius] Poland has to understand our situation. Of course, looking back in the past is not a good thing in politics. But an impartial assessment of history is necessary in order to prevent the repetition of certain events. It is possible to find mutually acceptable ways of settling accounts with history.

[Narbutt] The change in the Lithuanian position on the treaty creates the impression that the government found itself under heavy pressure from the Sajudis opposition and a part of society.

[Slezevicius] There is such a pressure. Certain circles speak for the treaty and the need to condemn the past. After all, the government is pressured not only in this sphere, which is a commonplace situation in all states and societies. Let me, however, emphasize that based on public opinion, it is the government and, of course, the president who ultimately make a decision. We care about our contacts with Poland—after all, it is our neighbor and the state that in some respects—economic in the first place—can become an example to follow.

[Narbutt] How strong are the organizations similar to "Vilniji," which can only be described as anti-Polish?

[Slezevicius] Lithuania is a democratic state, where every individual and organization are free to express their convictions. One should not, however, exaggerate things. It is natural—and it happens in Poland, too—that some people want to capitalize on fanning nationalistic sentiments.

[Narbutt] Lithuanian television is in the hands of state. For the whole past week, it conducted a campaign—it is hard to use any other word—directed against the Home Army [AK]. It featured witnesses of the AK's "criminal activities" talking about the persecution of the civilian population by the Poles and included commentaries in the newscasts. All this is happening on the eve of the consecration of the AK sector in the Vilnius Rossa cemetery.

[Slezevicius] That the television is state-run does not mean that the government can influence its programs and tell it what it is and is not supposed to show. Besides—and this is my deep conviction—one should talk and show all those events accompanied by human deaths and condemn the guilty.

[Narbutt] This means that one should also talk about the crime in Glinciszki, where the Lithuanians murdered all the Polish residents during the war.

[Slezevicius] As I said, one should talk about all crimes like this.

[Narbutt] The national minority policy no doubt depends on the government. Recently, the village of Gudele—an area that was overwhelmingly populated by Poles before the war but transferred to someone else—has attracted a lot of attention in Poland.

[Slezevicius] The officials who made this decision are already fired. I went there myself to assess the situation. At this time, however, it is difficult to change the decisions already made; otherwise, it would trigger another wave of consequences. This issue should not be thought of in terms of nationality. The same situation occurred in Kaunas. This is an economic problem, the problem of reprivatization. Marx wrote about how to transfer from the capitalist to the socialist system, but said nothing about how to move in the opposite direction. So mistakes still happen.

[Narbutt] In spite of everything, you appear an optimist as far as Polish-Lithuanian relations are concerned. Let us return to the treaty that has a key importance for them. It is a rare fact in international relations that a treaty includes condemnation of the past—unless this treaty is concluded after the war with a state that lost it. Even the treaty between Poland and Germany does not include such a condemnation. What if we evaluate the past in isolation from the treaty?

[Slezevicius] I agree with you. As I have already mentioned, it is possible to find a mutually acceptable solution. However, one should sit down at the table to do this. I would like to see this done as soon as possible.